

Drugs

Letters to the Editor

The CIA Responds

SIR: As you are aware, the Central Intelligence Agency seldom responds to criticism of any sort. It cannot remain silent, however, when a newspaper with The Star's reputation prints an article alleging that this agency supports the heroin traffic in Southeast Asia. I refer to the column by Judith Randal in The Star of 29 June.

So serious a charge should be made only on the basis of the most convincing evidence. Miss Randal states only that "reporters have been hearing for more than a year" and then refers to an article in Harper's magazine by a graduate student, Alfred W. McCoy.

Charges of this nature have been made previously and each time have been most carefully investigated and found to be unsubstantiated. The public record on this subject is clear. There is, for instance, a report by Roland Paul, investigator for the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, in the April 1971 issue of Foreign Affairs, which states: "... due to the long association with the CIA, the Meo tribesmen in Laos were shifting from opium to rice and other crops."

The Congressional Record of June 2, 1971, printed a letter from John E. Ingersoll, director of the Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs, to Representative Charles S. Gubser of California, which states: "Actually, CIA has for some time been this bureau's strongest partner in identifying foreign sources and routes of illegal trade in narcotics. Their help has included both direct support in intelligence collection, as well as in intelligence analysis and production. Liaison between our two agencies is close and constant in matters of mutual interest. Much of the progress we are now making in identifying overseas narcotics traffic can, in fact, be attributed to CIA cooperation."

Miss Randal's article is also in contrast to the two articles by your staff writer, Miriam Ottenberg, on June 18 and 19, 1972, in which she pointed out: "U.S. narcotics agents are making a sizable dent in the Southeast Asian dope traffic and—despite reports to the contrary — America's Asian allies and the CIA are helping them do it." And she quoted John Warner of the Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs as saying, "he had seen nothing of an evidentiary nature from Mr. McCoy 'other than gossip, conjecture and old history'."

Narcotics addiction is one of this country's most serious social problems. The Central Intelligence Agency is dedicated to eradicating this menace and, specifically, to interdicting the flow of narcotics entering this country.

It is difficult to understand why a writer would publish material tending to undermine confidence in this effort without the most convincing proof. More than one year ago, in an address before the American Society of Newspaper Editors, Richard Helms, director of Central Intelligence, stated: "There is the arrant nonsense, for example, that the Central Intelligence Agency is somehow involved in the world drug traffic. We are not. As fathers, we are as concerned about the lives of our children and grandchildren as are all of you. As an agency, in fact, we are heavily engaged in tracing the foreign roots of the drug traffic for the Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs. We hope we are helping with a solution; we know we are not contributing to the problem."

This statement remains valid today.

W. E. Colby,

Executive Director

June 27, 1972

In our own country, we stand in greater need of what we call conscience. Order is Heaven's first law; the Universe, with the infinity of celestial bodies, is regulated by law and maintained in order. The human creature on our own planet—as well as those which may inhabit any like orbs—is endowed with the faculty of reason; with faith, that is to say, reasoned hope; with the belief of the pure in heart that the soul shall have immortal being.

"Hats off to the past, and coats off to the future," must yet be the homely slogan.

I believe that mirth and music are material gifts from Heaven to Man, in compensation for the tragedies of life. Good thought and conduct constitute good morals. Evil is the exact opposite. If we transgress, we are punished, in one way or another.

All the qualities of humanity that are possessed of hope, faith, courage, diligence, reason, love of home and country, vision and noble ideals, must be exercised as indispensable labors in humanity's forward march. Apropos, the spirit of reverence and the Church must perform their necessary roles.

These observations are indeed trite. The multiplication table is trite, but reliance on the mathematics of Newton took the Astronauts to the moon, and thru the voids of space.

Our Baronial Order—whose members are descendants of sureties of A.D. 1215, has great opportunity for noble and patriotic service. It has also great responsibility, and, I believe, is meeting its obligations with fine dispatch.

The Magna Charta is a lengthy instrument of 61 articles. On June 12, 1215, it was adopted to hold in restraint, a cruel, despotic King John of England. Twenty-five sureties were named from the roster of Barons, to require the arbitrary King to pay allegiance to the Great Charter, which relates to benefits and property and other rights to the Barons, as well as the people in general.

Under the benefits conferred by Magna Charta, England, and the course of civil and religious liberty made lasting progress.

The next great document of liberty was the Mayflower Compact, adopted in November 1620 by the Pilgrims in Cape Cod Harbor. It was brief, but of essential character. It provided, in simple words, a comprehensive, organic and formal instrument enabling the establishment of Plymouth Plantation—on the Plymouth Rock site, binding equally on all; and assuring total equality, and to make all needed laws. Under it, the Pilgrims lived and prospered, with complete civil and religious liberty.

This modest compact proved to be the acorn which rooted and grew to the great oak of our Constitutional government, which we must uphold and sustain.

In conclusion, let me say, as did Tiny Tim in the immortal Christmas Story of Dickens, "Lord bless us all, each and everyone!"

CIA SMUGGLES OPIUM

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Wisconsin (Mr. ASPIN) is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. ASPIN. Mr. Speaker, I am releasing today substantial new evidence that indicates U.S. pilots flying CIA operated helicopters have been smuggling opium inside Laos.

What this new evidence indicates is that U.S. pilots using U.S.-owned planes are illegally smuggling opium in Laos, some of which has almost certainly been sold to U.S. GI's in Southeast Asia and some of which has almost certainly been smuggled into illicit U.S. drug markets.

I am releasing today a letter which I have received from Alfred McCoy, au-

thor of a forthcoming book on heroin traffic in Southeast Asia, which details the allegation of United States and CIA complicity in drug traffic. If these allegations are true, then the CIA is implicated in fostering the drug traffic that ruins the lives of tens of thousands of Americans.

According to the information Mr. McCoy has given me, a Laotian district chief and other officials have told him that American helicopters flew Meo officers into Laotian villages where they purchased opium. The opium was also transported out by American pilots and planes to Long Tieng, the CIA headquarters in Northern Laos where it was allegedly refined into morphine and eventually heroin.

The Meo tribesmen, as many of my colleagues know, had been recruited by the CIA and form a mercenary army which fights the Pathet Lao Communist guerrillas. For the Meo, opium is considered an important cash crop.

Mr. Speaker, I have asked CIA Director Richard Helms to thoroughly investigate Mr. McCoy's allegations. Since Mr. McCoy obtained his information late last summer it is imperative to determine whether this kind of drug trafficking is still going on. A principal, unanswered question which the CIA must resolve is "At what level in the CIA were officials aware of this illicit drug traffic?"

It is also becoming increasingly clear, Mr. Speaker, that the Nixon administration is covering up and contradicting itself about the importance of heroin traffic in Southeast Asia. After Mr. McCoy testified before a Senate committee last month the State Department termed his charges about the involvement of Government officials in Southeast Asia as "unsubstantiated." However, the U.S. Army Provost Marshal reported in 1971 that high ranking members of the South Vietnamese Government were in the top "zone" of the four-tiered heroin traffic pyramid.

Mr. McCoy, quite rightly, also disputes the State Department's claim that "Southeast Asia is not a major source of heroin on our market." This statement by the State Department directly contradicts a General Accounting Office report which states that:

The Far East is the second principal source of heroin entering the U.S.

Mr. Speaker, it is imperative to determine whether the CIA is still involved in opium traffic and who was responsible for the alleged involvement of the CIA with the opium growers of Laos.

My letter to Mr. Helms follows:

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D.C., June 27, 1972.

Mr. RICHARD HELMS,
Director, Central Intelligence Agency,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. HELMS: I am publicly releasing today substantial new evidence that indicates that U.S. pilots flying CIA-operated helicopters have been smuggling opium inside Laos. These allegations are contained in a letter and additional information that I have received from Mr. Alfred McCoy, author of a forthcoming book on heroin traffic in Southeast Asia. If these allegations are true, then the CIA is implicated in fostering the drug traffic that ruins the lives of tens of thousands of Americans.

I am writing to you today to request that

you thoroughly investigate Mr. McCoy's allegations. Since Mr. McCoy obtained his information last summer, it is imperative to determine whether this kind of drug trafficking is still going on. A principal unanswered question which the CIA must resolve is: "At what level in the CIA were officials aware of this illicit drug traffic?"

I hope that you will report to me in full the results of your investigation.

Thank you for your cooperation.

Sincerely,

LES ASPIN,
Member of Congress.

ROONEY REQUESTS HALF BILLION FOR RELIEF OF FLOOD RAVAGED STATES

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. ROONEY) is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. ROONEY of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, in the wake of probably the most destructive flood in America's history I have today announced that I will request an additional half billion dollars in Federal funds for relief in the five States which have been declared disaster areas by President Nixon.

The \$92.5 million now available to the States in the President's disaster relief fund will not begin to compensate the losses suffered by the five States. If Pennsylvania were to receive the entire \$92.5 million it would cover only about 10 percent of the cost of putting the State back together.

I have introduced legislation to provide relief funds in the amount of one-half billion dollars to the States which have been declared disaster areas by the President. This money would be disbursed by the Office of Emergency Preparedness whose primary function is the administration of the President's disaster relief fund. In past crises involving disaster areas in several States OEP has apportioned financial aid to the States according to the amount of damage sustained in the respective States. This is the only fair and realistic method of tackling the massive cleanup job ahead.

Pennsylvania, hardest hit by the flooding by a wide margin, would receive the lion's share of the supplemental appropriation, and Florida, having the least amount of damage of the five States, would receive the smallest portion. The remaining money would be distributed by OEP to Virginia, Maryland, and New York.

Other Members and I of the Pennsylvania delegation will meet with Governor Shapp today to discuss the crippling effects of the flood.

I hope to explore all avenues of Federal assistance with the Governor and arrive at some concrete goals with regard to the needs of the stricken Pennsylvania communities.

BEEF PRODUCERS GET SHORT END OF STICK

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Kansas (Mr. SKUBITZ) is recognized for 10 minutes.

Mr. SKUBITZ. Mr. Speaker, in my opinion the action the President took on

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though the first Congress of the United States met in New York in 1789, in 1790 it chose Philadelphia as the temporary seat of the new Government when Washington was President.

As students of history know, the Constitution was not a suddenly devised framework of government but the culmination of experience dating back to the Magna Carta of 1215 when 25 barons of England united to force King John to sign and observe it.

The Baronial Order of Magna Carta, composed of men who are lineal descendants of these 25 barons of England, and of which William Hannis Perot of Philadelphia is Marshal, customarily commemorates the signing of the Magna Carta on the Sunday nearest June 15 of each year at historic Christ Church in Philadelphia, the church attended by Washington. Most of the members of the order live in the Philadelphia region; some in the Washington, D.C. area. This order through the years has been a highly effective patriotic group in keeping alive the memories of the Magna Carta as a vital landmark in the development of constitutional liberty.

On June 11, 1972, at this church, the Barons celebrated the 757th anniversary of the ensembling of the Magna Carta in an impressive program led by the rector, the Reverend Ernest A. Harding, D.D., in which a member of the order, the Honorable Maurice H. Thatcher, distinguished former Member of the Congress from Kentucky, and the sole surviving member of the Isthmian Canal Commission that supervised the construction of the Panama Canal, made the address for the occasion and received the Annual Award of the Order, which reads as follows:

The Baronial Order of Magna Carta presents its Magna Carta Day Award to Governor Maurice Hudson Thatcher in recognition of his service to humanity:

Particularly is this made for his championing the Freedom of the Individual, furthering the significant tradition begun in 1215 by the Barons of England.

(Panama Canal Seal.)

(Kentucky Seal.)

(Picture—ship in Panama Canal.)

Christ Church in Philadelphia.

Magna Carta Sunday, June 11, 1972.

WILLIAM HANNIS PEROT,

Marshal.

HENRY PICHON KROGSTAD,

Keeper of the Signet.

(NOTE.—Framed with White House Timber.)

During the program, Governor Thatcher, together with Marshal Perot, former Marshal Charles Edgar Hires, Capt. Miles P. DuVal, Jr., also a member of the order, and Gilbert H. Dehnel of Washington, D.C., sat in the George Washington pew.

So that the indicated address may be suitably recorded in the annals of the Congress for the benefit of present and future readers, I include herewith the indicated address as part of my remarks:

ADDRESS OF MAURICE H. THATCHER

To the Members of the Baronial Order of Magna Carta and their families; friends and neighbors from Washington, D.C., Philadelphia, and other points; Rev. Doctor Harding and the membership of this historic Church, I must extend my deepest thanks

and most grateful appreciation for their presence on this occasion.

I also wish to thank with like appreciation, Baron and Mrs. Ross Porter Skillern for the gracious courtesies accorded myself and my traveling companion, Mr. Gilbert Dehnel of Washington, D.C. as guests in their charming home. Also, my thanks to others.

Then, I wish to give assurance of my most grateful acknowledgement for the outstanding honor that was voted to me by the Baronial Order last fall, and now awarded.

When I recall that men of such eminence as Generals MacArthur and Bradley; Chief Justice Bell, and certain outstanding members of the Baronial Order have been recipients of this Award, I am indeed, humbly grateful that I am now thus honored.

I know of no region more historic than that of Philadelphia, and its environs. Independence Hall and the Liberty Bell have their significance and memories.

Great appreciation is due the Welsh and Swedes, as well as the English, Scotch and others. William Penn and his Quakers structured a lasting monument. Here Benjamin Franklin grew into the vast proportions of a practical idealist, statesman, scientist, and successful civic and Revolutionary leader.

This Commonwealth itself is a beautiful domain. Its great rivers, its mountains and valleys—together with its farming areas—present an unexcelled panorama of beauty. Valley Forge and Gettysburg—and the Gettysburg Address—speak for themselves.

Its historic worth is beyond all measurement.

Besides the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania there are three other Commonwealths in our American Union, namely, Massachusetts, Virginia and Kentucky.

My own Commonwealth of Kentucky—with the aid of Daniel Boone, himself a native of Pennsylvania, led the effort for the early settlement of Kentucky; and in time's course, there were born in Kentucky, the respective leaders of the North and South in the Civil War era, Lincoln and Davis.

During my service in the Congress as Representative of the Louisville and Jefferson County, Kentucky District (1923-33), I had pleasant relationships, on both sides of the aisle, with Pennsylvania members of the House. I make special reference to Doctor Henry W. Temple of the Washington District, J. Banks Kurtz, of the Altoona District, and Thomas Butler of West Chester.

Dr. Temple, as a member of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, and on special National Park assignments, occupied posts where he was able to serve my efforts—and did serve them—to obtain enactment of Bills I sponsored. They were important measures, and became laws—such as the Acts creating the National Cave Mammoth Park in Kentucky, and the Gorgas Memorial Laboratory in the City of Panama, an institution dedicated to research touching the cause and prevention of tropical diseases, both human and veterinary.

The Laboratory, starting with an annual authorization of \$50,000, now has an annual budget of a million dollars; and Congress also has authorized and appropriated several millions for expansion of the Laboratory activities, made necessary by the great functions it has been called upon to serve.

Indeed, its achievements have been of such character as to make of it the outstanding institution of its kind in all the world. Panama is an ideal spot for such activity.

For more than 40 years, I served as the Vice President and General Counsel of the parent institute; and am yet filling the post of General Counsel; and am now the Honorary Life President of the Institute. All these services, I may say, have been rendered without compensation.

Some of you will recall that I was a Member of the Isthmian Canal Commission

under appointment of President Taft, in April 1910. I served until August 1913—all during the construction era.

My identification with the great enterprise throughout my tenure was also that of Civil Governor of the Canal Zone. Colonel William C. Gorgas of Yellow Fever fame, was also a Member of the Commission; and we had our official headquarters in the same building.

I was charged with certain duties which supported him in his important health and sanitary work; and it has given me great pleasure, in and out of Congress, in the years that followed, to have the opportunity to further provide for expansion of tropical research:

The Republic of Panama ceded to our Institute, for the purposes of a laboratory, important lands and buildings in the City of Panama, and we have erected additional structures with Congressional funds.

On an occasion of this character, it is expected, I believe, that the Awardee should submit some remarks dealing with matters of current concern.

This is the Age of Violence. Never in human history has there been such brutal conduct by people in the world, as is now taking place.

Under science the miracle of today becomes the commonplace of tomorrow.

The great achievements of science have been, in large measure, utilized by evil-minded individuals for the most wicked deeds which mankind has ever conceived.

Communism—the deadliest of evils, is busy as never before. We must wisely deal with these conditions, else they will destroy us. For this reason I speak of them.

Assassinations, murders, thefts, robberies, holding for ransom, hi-jacking, guerrilla monstrosities; slaying by wholesale of the innocent and defenseless, and degeneracies, have become the order of the day. No depraved or cruel act is missing.

The news media, in every category, in large measure, are being prostituted; and the old Commandments, containing the essence of life experience; and the noble instructions of the Sermon on the Mount, are being discarded in the world-at-large, and held in contempt.

We canonize our criminals. They get the publicity, the sympathy, and the eulogies, and the acquittals. Our virtues are kept under the bushel, and fall in inspirational value. The red-carpet treatment has all too often been accorded by naive courts, juries, and others charged with the responsibilities affecting the social structure. Shrewd, bold, conscienceless members of my own profession, often go beyond all decent bounds, and defy the courts, and enable the worst criminals to escape the whips of justice, and repeat their offenses.

The TV and radio, and other media with certain exceptions, which so often have instructed and inspired, and with so much potential for good, have all too oft become sewers of filth and degeneracy. In large measure, the children are neglected, and left to establish their own associations and considerations—with the inevitable results.

No further enumeration is required. However, we cannot ignore what is so patent; such things bring disaster. I am a firm believer in the divine mission of Man; but I can have, of course, no conception as to the time he must live and struggle before he scales the peaks of lasting good. He has come far, but yet has far to go. Meantime, we must may seem to be.

Also, it is fortunate that most of our humankind are optimists, rather than pessimists. They are moved by the consideration that the glass is half-full, rather than half empty. Only virtue makes for lasting peace and happiness. War is monstrous, yet, it has always obtained. Thus, the race muddles on.

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THE WASHINGTON POST

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CIA Is Assailed By Rep. Rangel On Drug Data

United Press International

Rep. Charles B. Rangel (D.-N.Y.) said yesterday "paranoid quest for secrecy" in the Central Intelligence Agency is keeping information about drug traffic in Southeast Asia from the American public.

Rangel, a member of the House Select Committee on Crime, said the CIA has consistently refused his requests for reports on opium and heroin trafficking, although some are already public knowledge or are available from other agencies.

"Each citizen has the fundamental right to know which governments allow drug production to flourish at the expense of our children's lives."

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Rangel item also picked up in Star.

CIA 'Paranoid' On Drug Traffic, Rangel Charges

United Press International

Rep. Charles B. Rangel, D-N.Y., said a "paranoid quest for secrecy" in the Central Intelligence Agency is keeping information about drug traffic in Southeast Asia from the American public.

Rangel, a member of the House Select Committee on Crime, said yesterday the CIA has consistently refused his requests for reports on opium and heroin trafficking in the area, although some are already public knowledge or are available from other agencies.

"This bureaucratic bungling and paranoid quest for secrecy on the part of the Central Intelligence Agency has prevented Congress from effectively determining which of our so-called 'allies' are profiteering in heroin," he said in a statement.

Rangel said nine reports he has unsuccessfully sought from the CIA name individuals, tribes, government officers and places involved in heroin trafficking in Southeast Asia.

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Air America Bans Smuggling

SIR: Judith Randal, in her column of June 29 made certain charges that I as managing director of Air America must take violent exception to. Her allegation "..... that this opium byproduct has been one of the more important cargoes carried by Air America" is completely false. Needless to say, Miss Randal failed to provide any proof for this allegation and it is my opinion that a charge as damning as the one made by Miss Randal should be supported by more than just rumors.

Air America is acutely aware of the individual opportunities for smuggling that inherently exist with our type of operation. We realized that these opportunities are made even more attractive by the fact that we operate in areas of the world where extremely high value, low bulk items such as gold and narcotics are easy to obtain and can be readily disposed of at tremendous profit.

The company continually works to impress upon its employees the seriousness with which any and all smuggling is viewed and evidence of such activity is cause for immediate termination! Also as a means for combating this situation we have for years assigned highest priority to the regular inspection of company aircraft, crews and cargoes by our own security force.

The establishment of a separate Security Inspection Service under a USAID-Air America contract constitutes a major advance in preventing illegal transportation of drugs aboard U.S. government-chartered aircraft in Laos. Through the continued and expanded efforts of programs such as these, more effective means will be developed for greatly reducing and eventually eliminating the opportunities for smuggling that still exist.

Air America, in denying similar charges made by Alfred McCoy to the Senate Foreign Relations Operations Subcommittee on June 2, 1972, stated that "if Mr. McCoy or any other individual can provide proof that any Air America employee has been connected in any manner with the drug traffic, appropriate disciplinary action will be taken and the matter referred to the proper authorities."

To date, no such proof has been forthcoming and we now extend the same invitation to Miss Randal and The Star.

Paul C. Velte, Jr.

July 20, 1972

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and other articles and no proceeding or determination under this Act shall preclude any proceeding or be considered determinative of any issue of fact or law in any proceeding under any Act administered by the Secretary of Agriculture.

(c) Whenever the Secretary determines pursuant to this Act or any other authority vested in him, that a species of fish or wildlife is an endangered species, and publishes regulations pertaining to the protection, control, management or enhancement of such endangered species, the Secretary of Agriculture may use all authorities available to him with respect to research, investigations, conservation, development, protection, management, and enhancement of fish and wildlife, including, but not limited to, the conservation operation program, watershed protection and flood prevention programs, Rural Environmental Assistance Program, Great Plains Conservation Program, Resource Conservation and Development Program, forestry programs, and Water Bank Program, in the protection, control, management, or enhancement of such endangered species. Recognizing the national and international interest in the protection and enhancement of such endangered species, the Secretary of Agriculture is authorized, notwithstanding the provisions of any other law, to bear the full cost or any lesser amount that he, in consultation with the Secretary may determine desirable to accomplish the objectives of the Act, of the cost of installing any practice, measure, work of improvement, facility, or other developmental, protective, or management systems on private land, the primary purpose of which is for the purpose of enabling the landowner to comply with the regulations, or other recommendations, of the Secretary pertaining to the protection, control, management, or enhancement of such endangered species. The Secretary of Agriculture, in carrying out the purposes of this section, shall utilize his authorities to conduct research and investigations into vegetative and structural methods and other methods and practices, measures, works of improvement, and facilities most appropriate or effective in the protection, control, management, or enhancement of such endangered species. If determined desirable, the Secretary and the Secretary of Agriculture shall be authorized to jointly carry out research, surveys, and investigations. The Secretary is authorized to transfer to the Secretary of Agriculture such funds as may be necessary to carry out the purposes of this subsection.

(d) Nothing in this Act, or any amendment made by this Act, shall be construed as superseding or limiting in any manner the functions and responsibilities of the Secretary of the Treasury under the Tariff Act of 1930, as amended, including, without limitation, section 527 of such Act relating to the importation of wildlife taken, killed, possessed, or exported to the United States in violation of the laws or regulations of a foreign country.

CONFORMING AMENDMENTS

SEC. 11. (a) Subsection 4(c) of the Act of October 15, 1966 (80 Stat. 928), as amended (16 U.S.C. 668dd(c)), is further amended by revising the second sentence thereof to read as follows: "With the exception of endangered species listed by the Secretary pursuant to section 4 of the Endangered Species Conservation Act of 1972, nothing in this Act shall be construed to authorize the Secretary to control or regulate hunting or fishing of resident fish and wildlife on lands not within the system."

(b) Subsection 10(a) of the Migratory Bird Conservation Act (45 Stat. 1224), as amended (16 U.S.C. 715i(a)), is further amended by inserting "or likely within the foreseeable future to become threatened with" between the words "with" and "extinction".

(c) Subsection 401(a) of the Act of June 15, 1935 (49 Stat. 383), as amended (16 U.S.C. 715s(a)), is further amended by inserting "or likely within the foreseeable future to become threatened with" between the words "with" and "extinction" in the last sentence thereof.

(d) Subsection 6(a)(1) of the Land and Water Conservation Fund Act of 1965 (78 Stat. 903), as amended (16 U.S.C. 4601 9(a)(1)), is further amended by inserting "or likely within the foreseeable future to become threatened with" between the words "with" and "extinction".

REPEALS

SEC. 12. (a) Sections 1 through 3 of the Act of October 15, 1966 (80 Stat. 926, 927), as amended (16 U.S.C. 668aa-668cc), are hereby repealed in their entirety.

(b) Sections 1 through 6 of the Act of December 5, 1969 (83 Stat. 275-279; 16 U.S.C. 668cc-1 through 668c-6) are hereby repealed in their entirety.

By Mr. BAYH:

S. 3819. A bill to amend the Controlled Substances Act to establish effective controls against diversion of particular controlled substances and to assist law enforcement agencies in the investigation of the diversion of controlled substances into other than legitimate medical, scientific, and industrial channels, by requiring manufacturers to incorporate inert, innocuous tracer elements in all Schedule II and III depressant and stimulant substances, and for other purposes. Referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

DANGEROUS DRUG CONTROL ACT OF 1972

Mr. BAYH. Mr. President, the Subcommittee to Investigate Juvenile Delinquency, of which I am chairman, has been conducting an intensive investigation into the abuse of psychotropic drugs. We have been particularly concerned by the increasing abuse of amphetamines and barbiturates which many medical experts believe has reached crisis proportions. Last summer, we conducted hearings on amphetamine abuse in which we heard the tragic experiences of many young people who had been hooked on "speed" or "uppers," as these drugs are known in the street culture. We also heard from leading doctors and criminologists that amphetamines were widely abused at all levels of our society. Shortly after the conclusion of these hearings, the Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs announced the administrative rescheduling of two amphetamine-like substances, with which we had been particularly concerned—phenmetrazine—"Preludin"—and methamphetamine—"Ritalin"—from schedule III to schedule II of the Controlled Substances Act of 1970. Under schedule II these drugs are subject to stricter production and distribution controls, including the establishment of annual production quotas. Although industry requested production quotas of more than twice the 1971 production, the amphetamine quotas established for 1972 amount to an 80 percent reduction from 1971 production levels.

The subcommittee has pursued its investigation of the abuse of psychotropic drugs with particular emphasis on the problem of barbiturate abuse. During the past 6 months, we have heard testimony

from 40 witnesses, including representatives of the medical community; experts in the dynamics and emerging patterns of drug abuse; Federal, State, and local law enforcement officials; representatives of major barbiturate manufacturers and wholesalers; as well as individuals who have experienced the horrors of barbiturate dependency and addiction.

The investigation and hearings conducted by the subcommittee have revealed barbiturate abuse to be both a significant public health problem and an ever increasing concern of law enforcement agencies. Barbiturate dependency and addiction have been described as more dangerous than amphetamine dependency and more widespread and physically destructive than heroin addiction. Barbiturate abuse is not a phenomenon restricted to the street culture of multiple drug abusers. It reaches into many areas of American life, affecting such diverse groups as grammar school, high school and college students, industrial workers, middle-class party goers and residents of our ghettos and barrios.

Barbiturates are the best known of the drugs which are used medically to relax the central nervous system. On the street these sedatives are known as "downers" or "goofballs." They are also known as reds, red devils, yellow jackets, blue angels, rainbows, and Christmas trees. All are synthetically derived from barbituric acid. They vary, however, in the onset and duration of their action.

Barbiturates are highly dangerous when taken without proper medical supervision. Increasing use of these pills quickly produces tolerance. Once tolerance is achieved, the user experiences a euphoric effect from taking "downers." Rather than feeling merely drowsy and sluggish, he actually feels high and completely insulated from reality. A regular abuser will suffer severe withdrawal symptoms when the drug is suddenly terminated. Severe withdrawal may be brought on even by a moderate reduction of the accustomed dose. After 12 hours off the drug, the abuser experiences nervousness, headache, tremors, insomnia, fever, and nausea. After 3 days, he may go into convulsions and delirium. Visual hallucinations, usually of a persecutory nature, are common. Barbiturate withdrawal is a serious medical emergency and requires hospitalization. It is more dangerous than heroin withdrawal and can be deadly. Indeed, certain kinds of barbiturate addiction are regarded by many medical authorities as more difficult to cure than narcotic addiction.

Barbiturates are used by millions of Americans in every stratum of society. Unfortunately, in many homes some degree of psychotropic drug abuse is common, and usually unrecognized. Most Americans simply do not realize the terrible consequences of abusing these drugs. Barbiturates and amphetamines are not viewed with the alarm that we view heroin and morphine, although we know that when used improperly, the effects of these drugs may be even more devastating. Children grow up watching their parents take these pills, and they develop an acceptance of drug tak-

ing. Thus, casual attitudes toward these potentially destructive drugs, coupled with a readily available supply in the family medicine cabinet, appear intimately connected with the current trend in youthful barbiturate abuse.

Last December, the subcommittee conducted hearings on the nature and extent of barbiturate abuse. We heard representatives of the medical community describe the enormous abuse potential of these drugs. Dr. Sidney Cohen, former Director, Division of Narcotic Addiction and Drug Abuse, National Institute of Mental Health, characterized 1972 as "the year of the downer." We heard young people who had experienced the horrors of barbiturate dependency relate how easy it is to obtain these dangerous drugs. In fact, many of the young witnesses had started down the terrible road to barbiturate addiction with pills taken from the family medicine cabinet. We learned from criminologists and sociologists the dynamics of abuse and emerging nationwide patterns of barbiturate dependency and addiction.

The subcommittee hearings on May 2, 3, and 17 focused on the problem of illicit barbiturate traffic. We heard testimony from a New York reporter who obtained barbiturates with prescription blanks he had printed at a nominal cost, bearing the name of "Dr. D. M. Sugob" which, spelled backwards, reads "Bogus, M. D." These prescriptions showed no BNDD number as required by law. The senior officer of the Norfolk, Va., Narcotics Squad told the subcommittee that his city is experiencing a steady increase in the illegal use and distribution of barbiturates. In fact, he predicted no less than a 100-percent increase in arrests for possession and distribution of barbiturates during the coming year.

Mr. Joseph P. Busch, district attorney of Los Angeles County, told the subcommittee that—

Barbiturates have always played a major role in the illegal drug traffic in Los Angeles and in recent years they have become the growth drug.

He cited a recent survey of Los Angeles city schools showing barbiturates to be the No. 1 school drug problem. Mr. Busch described some of the typical barbiturate cases encountered by juvenile officers in Los Angeles County:

An eight year-old child. Dropped a red every day after school. His parents eventually brought him to police. He said he enjoyed the feeling that the pills gave him.

A sixteen year-old juvenile. Habit of eight or nine capsules a day. Booked under the influence. Began to convulse. Taken to General Hospital. Released the next day. Picked up the same night, overdosed on street. Not arrested. Taken to Daniel Freeman Hospital. Released.

Picked up on the next day under the influence in a public park. Booked again.

A fourteen year-old juvenile. Selling hash and pills in jars of 1,000. Using pills. Convulsed in juvenile hall going through withdrawal.

A seventeen year-old juvenile. 30 cap a day habit. He was taking eight caps a day before bed. Underwent medical withdrawal.

Mr. Bryan Finkle, forensic toxicologist, department of district attorney, County of Santa Clara, San Jose, Calif., reported that his county was experienc-

ing a secobarbital epidemic. He presented alarming data indicating that during the year July 1, 1969 to June 30, 1970, 45 percent of the 2,295 drug cases analyzed, or 75 percent of the 1,377 cases yielding positive results, involving the drug secobarbital; that 80 percent of these individuals were less than 26 years old; that 50 percent of the individuals involved in vehicle code offenses over a 2-year period resulting in accidents involved the drug secobarbital; and that the average blood concentration of secobarbital of those involved in these accidents was three times the maximum concentration found in persons taking secobarbital therapeutically under medical supervision.

A special assistant attorney general from New Mexico testified that every few weeks, 40,000 illegal barbiturates arrive in Santa Fe, a city with a population of 40,000. These dangerous drugs are sold on the streets, in school corridors, and even on playgrounds adjoining elementary schools. We learned that Santa Fe is averaging close to one barbiturate death every 3 days. The youngest fatality, a 30-day-old infant, born a secobarbital addict, failed to survive the violent convulsive consequences of its tragic entry into the world.

Many witnesses, including former barbiturate addicts and law enforcement officials, have told the subcommittee that barbiturates are obtained illicitly from friends, street dealers, physicians, pharmacies, or by pilfering abundantly supplied family medicine cabinets. Others have suggested that a significant percentage of the persons abusing barbiturates obtain them originally through legitimate channels and then resort to self-medication, nonmedical use, or illicit traffic. One youngster, age 16, remarked that it is less of a "hassle" to obtain "downers" than it is to purchase cigarettes.

I have learned how readily available and inexpensive these drugs are from personal experience. Several months ago I visited a number of barbiturate treatment programs in California. During the course of a "rap session" with several barbiturate addicts, one young counselor at the Haight-Ashbury Free Clinic in San Francisco, himself a former barbiturate addict, slipped out of the session unnoticed. In a matter of minutes he returned with the fruits of several minutes efforts: A handful of legitimately produced "yellow jackets," purchased for 25 cents a capsule from a local street dealer.

Although the specific numerical estimates differ, there is a consensus among those testifying to date, except for representatives of the drug industry, that a significant proportion of legitimately produced barbiturates find their way into the illicit market. Mr. John Ingersoll, the Director of the Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs, recently told the subcommittee that "unlike the case of all other major drugs of abuse, it appears that barbiturates are supplied exclusively from what begins as legitimate production."

In order to bring a clearer focus on the issues of barbiturate abuse and illicit barbiturate traffic, I recently introduced

two pieces of legislation relating to the production, distribution, and control of barbiturates. S. 3539 would provide for the rescheduling of several commonly abused shorter acting barbiturates from schedule III to schedule II of the Controlled Substances Act. This change would subject these particular barbiturates to stricter production and distribution controls. S. 3538 would require all manufacturers of solid oral form schedule II barbiturates to place identifying marks or symbols on their products. This bill would facilitate law enforcement efforts to determine the sources of diverted barbiturates. I appreciate the support of my 26 colleagues who have cosponsored these two measures.

Today, I am introducing the "Dangerous Drug Control Act of 1972" which will further assist law enforcement agencies in their investigations of the diversion of controlled substances. This measure also provides for the Attorney General to conduct a comprehensive study and analysis of the diversion of controlled substances.

My bill will require manufacturers to incorporate an inert tracer ingredient in all schedule II and schedule III stimulants and depressants, including the widely abused amphetamines and barbiturates. The presence of these tracers will assist law enforcement agencies in the identification of diverted controlled substances, whether seized in bulk form or in the form of illicitly manufactured or illicitly capsulized pills.

Such a tracer system has been recommended by numerous witnesses who have appeared before the subcommittee. Mr. Joseph P. Busch, district attorney of Los Angeles County, recommended that tracer materials be placed in all domestically produced barbiturate substances. Mr. Busch illustrated the usefulness of tracers in a recent heroin investigation, in which his office placed a tracer in chemicals being shipped to a Mexican laboratory believed to be producing heroin. When the tracer appeared in heroin sold in California, Mr. Busch was able to verify the origin of the heroin.

Tracers in stimulant and depressant substances would provide similar assistance in source identification. Considerable evidence supports the hypothesis that legitimately produced domestic drugs, in bulk and dosage unit form, are shipped to Mexico and eventually imported to illicit markets in this country. The Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs and the Customs Bureau have seized 7,600,000 unmarked red secobarbital units in the past 24 months. In one case, an individual was arrested in possession of 2 million unmarked red secobarbital units and large quantities of amphetamines. The presence of a tracer would assist law enforcement officers in identifying the source of these drugs, even if the substances have been repackaged or recapsulized for illegal trade. Tracers would in no way impair the quality or the therapeutic value of these drugs.

Although "California reds"—also known as "Mexican reds"—have been found in Denver, New Orleans, and New York City, it is important to emphasize

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that this is a special situation superimposed on a broader barbiturate abuse pattern affecting the entire Nation. The barbiturates seized in nearly all communities are legitimately produced domestic barbiturates in dosage unit form.

My bill authorizes the Attorney General to require the incorporation of tracer ingredients in other controlled substances as may be necessary to control the diversion and abuse of these substances.

My bill requires the Attorney General, after consultation with the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare and others knowledgeable in the manufacture, distribution, and monitoring of controlled substances, to determine appropriate methods for incorporating tracer ingredients in depressants and stimulants. The Attorney General is required to conduct research and educational programs to implement the tracer program; to develop rapid field and laboratory identification techniques; to train local, State, and Federal law enforcement personnel regarding the identification of tracer elements and investigation of diversion; and to establish standards to evaluate diversion and tracer control of other controlled substances.

There is an urgent need for a comprehensive information system for use in detecting and preventing drug diversion and in measuring the impact of enforcement and regulatory efforts. The Comptroller General in the April 17, 1972 report of the General Accounting Office entitled "Efforts to Prevent Dangerous Drugs from Illicitly Reaching The Public", made the following conclusions relative to reporting and identification of seized drugs by law enforcement agencies:

DRUGS SEIZED BY STATE AND LOCAL ENFORCEMENT GROUPS NOT EXAMINED

BNDD, the Bureau of Customs, and State and local enforcement agencies seize large quantities of drugs. BNDD strives to identify the manufacturer of drugs seized by its agents and the Bureau of Customs, since the manufacturers' identity can be valuable in BNDD's investigation to determine the source and significance of the diversion. We found however that, although it had made some efforts to identify manufacturers of drugs seized by State and local enforcement agencies, BNDD had no formal procedures for obtaining such information and that informal requests for samples of seized drugs had produced few results.

Manufacturers of legally produced amphetamines and barbiturates can be identified by marking, such as trade names and trademarks, or by pillistics. Pillistics, a procedure similar to ballistics, identifies pills with the machines which produced them. BNDD has obtained samples (authentic) of pills from manufacturers which have been identified to specific machines. When the origin of seized pills is unknown, the pills can be compared with the authentic in an attempt to identify the manufacturers that produced them.

BNDD officials expressed the view that more complete information on the origin of drugs seized by State and local groups would be a valuable aid in their investigation. The value of this information is illustrated in a case involving amphetamine pills seized in California. Through its examination BNDD identified pills smuggled in from Mexico as being manufactured by a drug firm in the Midwest. Subsequent investigations at this firm revealed that large quantities of am-

phetamines were en route to a fictitious address in Mexico. This shipment was seized.

In our visit to 13 State and local enforcement groups in California, New Jersey, and New York, we learned that a number of large seizures had been made in the past year but that little attempt had been made to determine the origin of the drugs. Most officials were not aware of BNDD's efforts to identify manufacturers but were willing to cooperate with BNDD in establishing such a system.

In one large metropolitan police department, we found that over 1,358,000 pills were seized during 1970. Three of the seizures consisted of about 270,000, 95,000, and 68,000 pills and accounted for over 30 percent of the total seized. No attempt has been made by the police department to determine the origin of these drugs nor had BNDD obtained samples for this purpose.

In other enforcement agencies, we found also that no attempt had been made to determine the origin of many drug seizures ranging from 5,000 to over 100,000 pills. In addition, we found that none of the enforcement agencies had uniform procedures for recording statistics on drug seizures and in several cases, no data was maintained.

We believe that BNDD should establish a procedure to obtain information on drugs seized by State and local enforcement groups. BNDD also should obtain samples of large drug seizures for its examination when the origin of the drugs is unknown. In addition, a uniform reporting format should be suggested to State and local enforcement groups so that data could be gathered systematically and uniformly and could be reported to BNDD.

The GAO report concludes that—

Much more needs to be done by the Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs, the States, local agencies, and the industry to reduce the diversion of legitimately manufactured drugs into illicit channels where they become easily available to young people and adults.

My bill provides for the systematic collection of data relevant to drug diversion and requires a thorough assessment of law enforcement efforts in this area. It requires the Attorney General to obtain comprehensive data from State and local agencies; to assess law enforcement efforts to control diversion; and to insure that State and local information systems are compatible with the Attorney General's diversion program.

Manufacturers, wholesalers and retailers registered under the Controlled Substances Act of 1970 have expressed concern that reports they have made to BNDD regarding possible diversion have not been systematically investigated and that when investigations are conducted they are infrequently informed of the outcome. My bill requires the Attorney General to establish uniform procedures to monitor and investigate all reports of dangerous drug purchases and orders of an unusual or suspicious nature and to systematically inform the reporting parties regarding the results of BNDD investigations.

To date there has been no systematic gathering of available data on the nature and extent of diversion. My bill requires the Attorney General to obtain from State and local law enforcement agencies all available information, including reports of thefts, seizures, and arrests involving controlled substances.

The military services purchase substantial amounts of dangerous drugs

each year. The Defense Personnel Support Center in Philadelphia, Pa., purchased about 131 million pills and capsules of dangerous drugs during fiscal years 1970 and 1971. The possibility of diversion within the military supply system is considerable. Many witnesses testifying before the subcommittee have indicated that military bases, depots, and hospitals are common points of diversion for amphetamines, barbiturates, and other dangerous drugs. The GAO report found that procedures for the military services to provide information to BNDD on thefts and other shortages of dangerous drugs are not adequate.

My bill requires the Attorney General to obtain information on thefts and shortages within the military supply system and to establish procedures for regular meetings with appropriate military officials on mutual problems concerning the diversion of controlled substances.

To assure that information regarding the diversion of controlled substances receives appropriate attention, my bill provides that the Attorney General shall submit a comprehensive annual report to the Congress on the diversion of controlled substances. The report will include an assessment of the nature and extent of diversion; an appraisal of the effectiveness of law enforcement efforts to curb diversion; and an evaluation of the tracer system provided in my bill in the investigation and prevention of diversion.

The Controlled Substances Act of 1970 requires that persons manufacturing, distributing, and dispensing controlled substances register with the Attorney General. In determining whether to register an applicant, the Attorney General is required to determine whether a registrant has failed to maintain effective controls against the diversion of any controlled substance, and whether he has failed to provide a standard of control consistent with public health and safety. Yet, under the 1970 act, the Attorney General is not authorized to revoke or suspend the registration of persons who abandon controlled substances.

My bill authorizes the Attorney General to revoke or suspend the registration of manufacturers, wholesalers, retailers, and others who abandon controlled substances, such as amphetamines and barbiturates, or who fail to provide controls consistent with public health and safety. Criminal penalties are provided for registrants who abandon controlled substances. Thus, the Attorney General can insure not only that prospective registrants meet standards necessary to curb the diversion of controlled substances into illicit channels, but also that those currently registered to manufacture, distribute, or dispense controlled substances continue to meet these same standards.

The abuse and diversion of legitimately produced dangerous drugs into channels other than legitimate medical, scientific, and industrial channels should be a primary concern for all citizens. The subcommittee, the Congress, and the public at large are all too familiar with the horrors of drug dependency and addiction and their attendant destructiveness and tragedy. While the current focus of con-

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cern today is on heroin addiction, it would be folly to overlook the present and prospective role of legitimately produced dangerous drugs.

My bills S. 3539, S. 3538, and the Dangerous Drug Control Act of 1972 which I am introducing today, provide the assistance necessary to aid the law enforcement agencies of this country in their efforts to deal more effectively with the diversion of controlled dangerous drugs.

We have learned from the experience of major urban areas, especially those on the west coast, that barbiturate abuse and addiction is a natural outgrowth of the abuse of psychedelic drugs and amphetamines and that many heroin addicts and methadone users are abusing or are addicted to barbiturates. Patterns of abuse experienced in California are emerging in cities and towns throughout our country. This "ripple effect" should clearly alert us to the need to control and monitor more adequately the production and distribution of dangerous drugs. I urge my colleagues to support the Dangerous Drug Control Act of 1972.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that a section-by-section analysis of the bill, together with the bill itself, be printed at this point in my remarks.

There being no objection, the bill and analysis were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

S. 3819

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That this Act may be cited as the "Dangerous Drug Control Act of 1972."

Sec. 2. Section 305 of the Controlled Substances Act (Public Law 91-513, 84 Stat. 1250) is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new paragraph:

"(e) (1) It shall be unlawful to manufacture or distribute Schedule II or Schedule III depressant and stimulant controlled substances, including immediate precursors, unless such substances contain an inert, innocuous tracer ingredient identifying the manufacturer or manufacturers, as required by regulation of the Attorney General. (2) The Attorney General is authorized to require the incorporation of tracer ingredients in any controlled substance as necessary to maintain effective control against diversion into other than legitimate medical, scientific, and industrial channels."

Sec. 3. Section 502 of the Controlled Substances Act is amended by redesignating paragraphs (b), (c) and (d) as paragraphs (c), (d) and (e), respectively, and by adding after (a) the following new paragraph:

"(b) The Attorney General, after consultation with the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare and with national organizations representative of persons with knowledge and experience in the manufacture, distribution and monitoring of controlled substances, shall determine appropriate methods for incorporating tracer ingredients in Schedule II and III depressant and stimulant substances in a manner that will facilitate the investigation of the illegal diversion of these substances. To carry out the purposes of section 305(e) and of this section the Attorney General shall conduct research and educational programs. Such programs shall include—

"(1) studies or special research projects designed to develop and implement a network of tracer elements to be incorporated in Schedule II and III depressant and stimulant substances so as to facilitate law enforcement efforts to identify the channels of illegal diversion of these substances.

"(2) studies or special research projects to develop rapid field and laboratory methods for identification of the tracer elements and manufacturers of Schedule II and III depressant and stimulant substances.

"(3) training programs for local, State, and Federal law enforcement personnel on the identification of tracer elements and the investigation of diversion of Schedule II and III depressant and stimulant substances. designed to establish standards to evaluate diversion of controlled substances other than depressants and stimulants in schedule II or schedule III and the necessity for incorporating tracer ingredients in such substances pursuant to section 305(e) (2)."

Sec. 4. (a) Part E of the Controlled Substances Act is amended by adding immediately after section 503 thereof the following new sections:

"INFORMATION ON DIVERSION OF DEPRESSANTS AND STIMULANTS"

"Sec. 504. In order to meet the need for comprehensive information required to measure the extent of controlled substance diversion and the impact of efforts to curb such diversion the Attorney General shall—

"(1) Establish regulations to obtain from State and local law enforcement agencies information necessary to evaluate the diversion of controlled substances; to assess law enforcement efforts to control such diversion; and to insure that new State and local information systems are consistent with the Attorney General's diversion control efforts.

"(2) Establish a uniform information system for each region that will provide control over all reports of dangerous drug purchases and orders of an unusual or suspicious nature received from registrants and over the disposition of such reports.

"(3) Direct regional offices to obtain from State and local law enforcement agencies available information on the diversion of controlled substances, including reports of thefts, seizures, and arrests involving such substances.

"(4) Obtain information on thefts and shortages of controlled substances within the military supply system and establish a procedure for meeting with appropriate military officials on a regular basis to exchange information on mutual problems concerning the diversion of controlled substances.

"REPORT TO CONGRESS"

"Sec. 505. Within one year after the effective date of section 305(e), and annually thereafter, the Attorney General shall submit to the Congress a comprehensive report on the diversion of controlled substances including, but not limited to, the following:

"(1) The nature and extent of controlled substances diversion;

"(2) The effectiveness of law enforcement efforts to curb diversion;

"(3) The operation of the tracer system provided for in this Act, and its effectiveness in the investigation and prevention of diversion of controlled substances into illegal channels.

(b) Sections 504 through 516 of Part E of such Act are hereby redesignated as sections 506 through 518, respectively."

Sec. 5. (a) Section 102 of the Controlled Substances Act is amended by adding immediately after clause (1) thereof the following new clause:

"(12) The term 'abandon' means to relinquish voluntarily possession or control of a controlled substance without vesting possession or control in another person authorized under this Act to have such possession or control."

(b) Clauses (12) through (26) of section 102 of such Act are hereby redesignated as clauses (13) through (27) respectively.

(c) Section 304(a) of the Controlled Substances Act is amended (1) by striking out "or" after the semicolon in clause (2); (2) by striking out the period at the end of

clause (3) and inserting in lieu thereof a semicolon and the word "or"; and (3) by adding after clause (3) the following new clauses:

"(4) has abandoned or otherwise failed to maintain effective controls against the diversion of any controlled substance into other than legitimate medical, scientific, research, or industrial channels; or

"(5) has failed to provide a standard of control consistent with the public health or safety."

(d) That part of section 401(b) of the Controlled Substances Act which precedes paragraph (1) (A) thereof is amended by inserting immediately before the word "shall", a comma and the following: "or any person subject to the requirements of part C who violates subsection (d) of this section,".

(e) Section 401 is amended by adding at the end thereof the following:

"(d) It shall be unlawful for any person who is subject to the requirements of part C of this title to abandon a controlled substance."

Sec. 6. (a) Except as otherwise provided in this section, all sections in this Act including this section shall become effective upon enactment.

(b) Section 305(e) shall become effective on the first day of the twelfth calendar month that begins after the day immediately preceding the date of enactment.

Sec. 7. There are authorized to be appropriated for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1973, and for each of the next five years, such sums as may be necessary for carrying out this Act.

SECTION-BY-SECTION ANALYSIS

SECTION 1

This section contains a short title to reflect the amending of the Controlled Substances Act of 1970.

SECTION 2

This section amends section 305 of the Act making it unlawful to manufacture or distribute Schedule II or Schedule III depressant and stimulant substances unless they contain tracer ingredients. It also authorizes the Attorney General to require tracers in other substances as may be necessary.

SECTION 3

This section amends sections 502 of the Act by requiring the Attorney General, after consultation with the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare and others knowledgeable in the manufacture, distribution and monitoring of controlled substances, to determine appropriate methods for incorporating tracers in depressants and stimulant controlled substances. This amendment of section 502 requires the Attorney General to conduct programs to implement the tracer program; to develop rapid field and laboratory tracer identification techniques; to train local, State and Federal law enforcement personnel regarding the identification of tracer elements and investigation of diversion; and to establish standards to evaluate diversion and tracer control of other controlled substances.

SECTION 4(A)

This subsection amends Part E of the Act by adding two new sections. The new section 504 requires the Attorney General to establish regulations to obtain comprehensive information from State and local law enforcement agencies in order to assess the nature and extent of diversion and the impact of efforts to curb diversion; to establish a uniform system for investigating and reporting the disposition of investigations regarding dangerous drug purchases and orders of an unusual or suspicious nature reported by registrants under the Act; to obtain from State and local law enforcement agencies all currently available information on the diversion of controlled substances, in-

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cluding reports of thefts, seizures and arrests involving such substances; and to obtain information on thefts and shortages of controlled substances within the military supply system and establish regular meetings with the military services regarding diversion of such substances.

The new section 505 requires the Attorney General to submit an annual report to the Congress on the nature and extent of controlled substances diversion; the effectiveness of law enforcement efforts to curb diversion of controlled substances; and the effectiveness of the tracer system.

SECTION 4 (B)

This subsection redesignates sections 504 through 516 of the Act.

SECTION 5 (A)

This subsection defines "abandon" as a voluntary relinquishment of possession or control of a controlled substance without vesting possession or control in another authorized person.

SECTION 5 (B)

This subsection redesignates clauses 12 through 26 of section 102 of the Act.

SECTION 5 (C)

This subsection amends section 304(a) of the Act by providing that abandonment or failure to maintain effective controls against diversion or failure to provide a standard of control consistent with the public health or safety are grounds for suspension or revocation of the registration required to manufacture, distribute or dispense controlled substances under the Act.

SECTION 5 (D)

This subsection amends section 401(b) of the Act by providing criminal penalties for registrants who abandon controlled substances.

SECTION 6 (A)

This subsection provides that all sections except section 305(e) shall become effective upon enactment.

SECTION 6 (B)

This subsection provides that section 305 (e) of this Act, requiring the incorporation of tracer ingredients in certain controlled substances, shall become effective one year after the date of enactment.

SECTION 7

This section authorizes such sums as may be necessary to carry out the purposes of this Act for fiscal year 1973 and for each of the following five fiscal years.

By Mr. McGOVERN:

S. 3820. A bill to provide for payment of costs of pending litigation out of funds appropriated to pay a judgment in favor of the Yankton Sioux Tribe in Indian Claims Commission docket No. 332-A. Referred to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

Mr. McGOVERN. Mr. President, the Yankton Sioux Tribe of South Dakota is one of the smaller, poorer tribes of the United States. Pursuant to the Indian Claims Commission Act, the tribe filed claims against the United States—a land claim for lands once owned by the tribe in Iowa, generally described as the Royce 151 claim, a claim for lands ceded by an 1858 treaty, generally described as the Royce 410 and Sioux Fort Laramie claims, and a suit for an accounting of funds and properties of the tribe by the United States. The Royce 151 claim was litigated as docket No. 332-A in the Indian Claims Commission. It resulted in a judgment for the Yankton Sioux Tribe in the amount of \$1,250,000. Funds to

satisfy the judgment were appropriated by the Congress by the act of July 22, 1969 (83 Stat. 49). Those funds, less attorney fees, expenses, and planning funds have been invested but are not available for use by the tribe until Congress approves their distribution.

Funds were borrowed by the Yankton Sioux Tribe from the "Expert Assistance Loan Fund" established by the act of November 4, 1963 (77 Stat. 301) with which to retain expert anthropologists to aid them in establishing their claim to aboriginal title of the Royce 410 area and to recognized title along with the Teton Sioux in the Sioux Fort Laramie lands. Those funds were repaid to the loan fund out of the award in docket No. 332-A.

In the land case still pending, which is Indian Claims Commission docket numbered 332-C, the Yankton Tribe alleged that it was paid an unconscionably low compensation for the lands which they gave up pursuant to treaty in 1858, ratified in 1859. To prove this, the tribe must establish the market value of those lands as of 1859 and further prove that the consideration which the Government actually paid for the lands was considerably less than the true value of the lands at that time. The experts will also have to study whether the consideration moneys appropriated by Congress actually were used for the benefit of the Yankton Tribe. The area involved covers at least 72 million acres, most of it in the Sioux-Fort Laramie area. Although the Commission determined that the Yankton Tribe owned only a 17-percent interest in the vast Sioux-Fort Laramie area, the entire tract must be appraised in order to determine the worth of a 17-percent interest therein.

This proof requires the assistance of expert appraisers experienced in the field of historical appraisal, a mineral appraiser to determine the value as of 1859 of then-known minerals in the area, and historians to receive the times. In the accounting phase of the case which is Indian Claims Commission docket No. 332-B, the tribe will need the aid of historians, anthropologists and accountants. When the claims have been determined, the tribe will need the aid of historians and accountants to defend against the Government's claim of offsets.

The valuation phase of the Yankton land claim has been set for hearing in November of this year and the Yankton Tribe's attorneys are making every effort to be prepared for trial on that date. As early as March 3, 1971, the General Council of the Yankton Tribe passed a resolution earmarking \$150,000 of the funds due the tribe from their docket No. 332-A award to cover these necessary litigation expenses. No attorney fees will be paid from this litigation fund. The attorneys work on a contingent fee basis and will be paid if the pending claims are successfully concluded. The attorneys had earlier advised the tribe to file an application for additional funds from the expert witness loan fund. The application was granted—subject to availability of funds. To date, no additional funds are available for the Yankton Tribe's use. Appraisers, historians, and accountants undertook to do the work

expecting funds to be available long before today either from the loan fund or from the tribe's own funds to pay their fees and expenses. The loan fund is exhausted and the tribe's funds are held up here in Congress because of a disagreement over how much of the funds may be distributed per capita.

The bill introduced today would release the \$150,000 of Yankton funds, or as much as shall be necessary to pay fees and expenses of expert witnesses to avoid further delay in the litigation of claims before the Indian Claims Commission. Use of the balance of the award arising from docket 332-A can then be determined at a later time.

There is no disagreement concerning the establishment of this litigation fund to finance the tribe's remaining claims. If these funds are not made available for use in the litigation now, the November 16, 1972, trial date for docket No. 332-C—which is the Yankton's largest claim—will have to be postponed. No interest is generally paid to the tribe on judgment awards for lands taken where unconscionable consideration was paid. Therefore, if the Yankton Tribe is deprived of the use of its money at this time to prosecute its pending claims, there will be several hundreds of thousands of dollars lost to the tribe solely because of the delay in obtaining its judgment.

In addition, the necessary experts have been retained and have commenced their work with the trial date of November 16, 1972, scheduled in their workload. If the litigation fund from docket No. 332-A is not made available, these experts will be forced to discontinue their work. Resumption of activity by these experts at a later date will only result in more required work, more compensation to be paid by the tribe and a rescheduling of a trial date in the future which must be mutually acceptable to the Indian Claims Commission and the experts—for both the tribe and the Government.

Therefore, denial of the use of this litigation fund at this time will result in delayed justice to the Yankton Tribe for claims now over 100 years old and, more important, definite loss of substantial moneys to the tribe.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the full text of the bill I am now introducing be printed at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the bill was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

S. 3820

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the Yankton Sioux Tribal Business and Claims Committee is hereby authorized and directed, pursuant to a resolution adopted by the Yankton General Indian Tribal Council at a meeting held March 3, 1971, to use not to exceed \$150,000 of the tribal funds appropriated by the Act of July 22, 1969 (83 Stat. 49), and standing to the credit of the Yankton Sioux Tribe of Indians in the State of South Dakota arising from the judgment award on docket numbered 332-A, known as the Royce 151 claim and that this fund or so much thereof as may be needed shall be used to pay the expenses and compensation of the competent experts whose services are neces-

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sary in the completion of their litigation in the Indian Claims Commission, dockets numbered 332-B and 332-C.

By Mr. MILLER (for himself and Mr. HUGHES):

S. 3822. A bill authorizing the City of Clinton Bridge Commission to convey its bridge structures and other assets to the State of Iowa and to provide for the completion of a partially constructed bridge across the Mississippi River at or near Clinton, Iowa, by the State Highway Commission of the State of Iowa. Referred to the Committee on Public Works.

Mr. MILLER. Mr. President, I introduce, for myself and my colleague from Iowa, a bill to authorize the City of Clinton Bridge Commission to convey its bridge structures and other assets to the State of Iowa and to provide for the completion of a partially constructed bridge across the Mississippi River at Clinton, Iowa, by the Iowa State Highway Commission.

The Clinton Bridge Commission was originally created under Federal law in 1944 to construct and operate bridges across the Mississippi River at Clinton, Iowa. The commission presently owns and operates two bridges, and in recent years has undertaken the construction of another bridge to replace one of the existing bridges which is inadequate. As a result of a limitation in the enabling legislation on allowable interest that could be charged on bonds to finance construction of bridges, and because of an unfavorable ruling on the tax exempt status of any bonds, the commission has been unable to raise funds to complete the new bridge.

Recently the Iowa State Highway Commission and the bridge commission agreed that construction of the bridge could best be completed by turning over the project to the highway commission. In order to facilitate this transfer and to insure the tax exempt status of the bonds, the highway commission has requested that Federal legislation be passed. Therefore, I am introducing this bill to authorize the transfer of the current bridges and assets of the Clinton Bridge Commission to the highway commission and to authorize the latter to complete construction of the new bridge. It is my understanding that the Iowa and Illinois Highway Commissions, and the Clinton Bridge Commission are all in favor of this legislation.

It is hoped that the Public Works Committee will act expeditiously on this matter and, if necessary to facilitate passage, will add the provisions of the bill to the Highway Act of 1972 or other legislation which will be acted upon this year.

A similar bill has been introduced in the House.

I ask unanimous consent that a copy of the bill and a background memorandum prepared by the attorneys for the Iowa State Highway Commission be printed in the Record at this point.

There being no objection, the bill and memorandum were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

S. 3822

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That in order to facilitate interstate commerce by expediting the completion of interstate bridge facilities across the Mississippi River in the vicinity of the City of Clinton, Iowa, the City of Clinton Bridge Commission (hereafter referred to as the "Commission"), created and operating under the Act approved December 21, 1944, as revived, amended and re-enacted, is hereby authorized to sell, convey and transfer to the State of Iowa all of its real and personal property, books, records, money and other assets, including all existing bridges for vehicular traffic crossing the Mississippi River at or near the City of Clinton, Iowa, and the substructure constituting the partially constructed new bridge which has been designed to replace the older of the two existing vehicular bridges, together with all easements, approaches and approach highways appurtenant to said bridge structures, and to enter into such agreements with the State Highway Commission of the State of Iowa (hereafter referred to as the "Highway Commission"), and The Department of Transportation of the State of Illinois as may be necessary to accomplish the foregoing: *Provided, however,* That at or before the time of delivery of the deeds and other instruments of conveyance, all outstanding indebtedness or other liabilities of said Commission must either have been paid in full as to both principal and interest or sufficient funds must have been set aside in a special fund pledged to retire said outstanding indebtedness or other liabilities and interest thereon at or prior to maturity, together with any premium which may be required to be paid in the event of payment of the indebtedness prior to maturity. The cost to the Highway Commission of acquiring the existing bridge structures by the State of Iowa shall include all engineering, legal, financing, architectural, traffic surveying and other expenses as may be necessary to accomplish the conveyance and transfer of the properties, together with such amount as may be necessary to provide for the payment of the outstanding indebtedness or other liabilities of the Commission as hereinafter referred to, and permit the dissolution of the Commission as hereinafter provided, less the amount of cash on hand which is turned over to the Highway Commission by the Commission.*

SEC. 2. The Highway Commission is hereby authorized to accept the conveyance and transfer of the abovementioned bridge structures, property and assets of the City of Clinton Bridge Commission on behalf of the State of Iowa, to complete the construction of the new replacement bridge, to repair, reconstruct, maintain and operate as toll bridges the existing bridges so acquired until the new replacement bridge has been completed, to dismantle the older of the two existing bridges upon completion of the new replacement bridge, and to thereafter repair, reconstruct, maintain and operate the two remaining bridges as toll bridges. There is hereby conferred upon the Highway Commission the right and power to enter upon such lands and to acquire, condemn, occupy, possess, and use such privately owned real estate and other property in the State of Iowa and the State of Illinois as may be needed for the location, construction, reconstruction or completion of any such bridges and for the operation and maintenance of any bridge and the approaches, upon making just compensation therefor to be ascertained and paid according to the laws of the State in which such real estate or other property is situated, and the proceedings therefor shall be the same as in the condemnation of private property for public purposes by

said State. The Highway Commission is further authorized to enter into agreements with the State of Illinois and any agency or subdivision thereof, and with any agency or subdivision of the State of Iowa, for the acquisition, lease, or use of any lands or property owned by such state or political subdivision.

The cost of acquiring the existing bridge structures, of completing the replacement bridge and of dismantling the bridge to be replaced and paying expenses incidental thereto as referred to in Section 1 of this General Assembly of the State of Iowa, or through the use of any other funds available for the purpose, or both. The above described toll bridge structures shall be repaired, reconstructed, maintained and operated by the Highway Commission in accordance with the provisions of the General Bridge Act of 1946, approved August 2, 1946, and the location and plans for the replacement bridge shall be approved by the Secretary of Transportation in accordance with the provisions of said Act, as well as by The Department of Transportation of the State of Illinois. The rates and schedule of tolls for said bridges shall be charged and collected in accordance with said General Bridge Act of 1946 and applicable Iowa legislation and shall be continuously adjusted and maintained so as to provide a fund sufficient to pay for the reasonable cost of maintaining, repairing and operating the bridges and approaches under economical management, to provide a fund sufficient to pay the principal of and interest on such bonds as may be issued by the Highway Commission as the same shall fall due and the redemption or repurchase price of all or any thereof redeemed or repurchased before maturity, and to repay any money borrowed by any other means in connection with the acquisition, construction, reconstruction, completion, repair, operation or maintenance of any of said bridge structures. All tolls and other revenues from said bridges are hereby pledged to such uses. No obligation created pursuant to any provision of this Act shall constitute an indebtedness of the United States.

SEC. 3. After all bonds or other obligations issued or indebtedness incurred by the Highway Commission or loans of funds for the account of said bridges and interest and premium, if any, have been paid, or after a sinking fund sufficient for such payment shall have been provided and shall be held solely for that purpose, the State of Iowa shall deliver deeds or other suitable instruments of conveyance of the interest of the State of Iowa in and to those parts lying within Illinois of said bridges to the State of Illinois or any municipality or agency thereof as may be authorized by or pursuant to law to accept the same, and thereafter the bridges shall be properly repaired, reconstructed, maintained and operated, free of tolls by the State of Iowa and by the State of Illinois, or any municipality or agency thereof, as may be agreed upon.

SEC. 4. The interstate bridge or bridges purchased, constructed or completed under the authority of this Act and the income derived therefrom shall, on and after the effective date of this Act, be exempt from all Federal, State, municipal, and local property and income taxation.

SEC. 5. After all of the property, books, records, money and other assets of the City of Clinton Bridge Commission have been conveyed and transferred to the State of Iowa as contemplated by this Act, such Commission shall cease to exist, without the necessity for any hearing, order or other official action.

SEC. 6. The right to alter, amend, or repeal this Act is hereby expressly reserved.

MEMORANDUM MARCH 15, 1972

1. The City of Clinton Bridge Commission (the "Bridge Commission") was created un-

Drug
August 1, 1972

nuclear power than they do with fossil fuels. In the long run, the extensive public debates about nuclear power will seem secondary. There is no alternative to substantial use of nuclear power.

Q. But right now there is a lively debate about the future availability of uranium with some people suggesting we won't have enough cheap uranium to fuel the nuclear plants we'll be building in the next 10 years.

A. It's hard to anticipate just how long low-cost uranium reserves will last. The estimates of uranium reserves in the United States are made on a quite conservative basis. Much of the world has not been explored, and even in the United States there are areas that have not been explored. There was a find recently along the Santa Fe Railway in New Mexico. I think we can count on having plenty of uranium to meet our needs.

Eventually the price of uranium would begin to rise and then the economics of light water reactors would start to suffer. We would begin to run out of low-cost uranium, but that is where the fast breeder reactor would prove its merits, because the price of electric power in the breeder is essentially insensitive to the price of uranium. The breeder will exploit about 70 per cent of the energy content in uranium, whereas the light water reactors built today exploit only 1 per cent of the energy content. In fact, the breeder will permit us to use what is a major potential asset in the United States and that is the vast amounts of depleted uranium left over from our weapons program, which could fuel breeders for almost a century.

Q. The United States has spent more than 20 years and about \$800 million on breeder research. The AEC is about to enter into a contract for the first breeder demonstration plant, which is to be located in the Tennessee Valley. When can the country expect to see commercial electricity from the breeder?

A. President Nixon has indicated that we should have an operating "demo" plant by 1980, and that continues to be our objective. We will be very close to that and I hope we beat it. We've ironed out all the outstanding problems except for the site, which we're now looking at. There are four or five sites under consideration. There will be a second demo plant located outside the Tennessee Valley. Our best judgment is that the first commercial breeders would be coming in after 1985.

Q. Few Americans understand the concept of the fast breeder. Can you describe how it would work and can you discuss its safety aspects?

A. The fast breeder is just what the name suggests. Fast or highly energetic neutrons are produced in the fission process, and are absorbed by the fertile uranium-238. The absorption of neutrons converts the uranium-238 into plutonium-239, which can be used as fuel. We anticipate that in 10 years' time a fast breeder would produce twice as much fuel as was consumed.

On the safety aspects, a better understanding seems to be developing. For example, the power densities will be about six times higher in the breeder than they are in the light water reactor. That means that if all of the coolant were lost from around the fuel, it is more difficult to dissipate the leftover heat to avoid melting the fuel. But in the breeder there is far less likelihood of losing the coolant even in the case of an instantaneous double-ended major pipe rupture. The reason is that liquid sodium is used to cool the hot reactor core instead of water. One of the most important things to remember about sodium as a reactor coolant is that its boiling point is about 1,600 degrees F., and consequently it does not have to be pressurized like water. Because it won't be pressurized, one avoids any chance of a major loss-of-coolant accident through blow-down, when loss of pressure turns very hot cooling water instantaneously into steam. That can't happen with a liquid metal cool-

ant, because the coolant won't be under significant pressure.

It has been pointed out that hot sodium is tricky to handle, that it reacts rapidly on contact with air or moisture. The design calls for the steel coolant system to be surrounded by nitrogen, so that if there are leaks of sodium there won't be any serious reaction of the hot liquid metal with oxygen. I should also point out that liquid sodium is not a new coolant. We and others throughout the world have used it in reactor plants safely for over 20 years. More than a dozen sodium-cooled reactors have operated over this period of time. Sodium has been used in the EBR-II [an experimental breeder reactor in Arco, Idaho] for over eight years, and it was used for three years as the coolant in the world's second nuclear submarine, the Seawolf.

Q. Once nuclear power becomes really big business the question of the disposal of radioactive wastes comes up. How does the AEC plan to store its wastes once the nuclear garbage begins to pile up?

A. Since the quantities of accumulated wastes are small, we do not have to begin storing high-level wastes from the commercial power reactors in a separate repository until about 1960. What we plan to do is to develop surface storage facilities at the same time that we continue to investigate geologic storage in a variety of configurations. We have put off any decision to move into underground geologic storage because the decision seemed to be an irreversible one. There has been concern about the effects of the long-term dissipation of heat from the solid wastes on salt formations. There is also concern that once placed underground, the wastes could become irretrievable. I think further experimentation will resolve these uncertainties, but until such time as these uncertainties are resolved we plan to have an acceptable alternative—the capability for storing such high-level solid wastes safely above ground.

One of the problems in salt storage is that you must dissipate heat by natural means in a relatively confined area, with the salt closely packed around the cylinders, where one would want to watch what the dissipated heat might do to the salt and to the other geologic structures adjoining the salt. At the surface we can use methods by which the heat is readily dissipated, we're able to cool the cylinders and we're able to watch them for leaks. We're also able to move these wastes from one storage vault to another or re-can them if a leak should occur. Don't forget, these wastes will be solidified. There will be no liquids to worry about.

The amount of wastes will be very small when the waste storage program begins, no matter where we're putting it. A 1 million kilowatt plant will produce about a cubic meter of high-level waste per year. All of the high-level wastes that will be generated by the year 2000 will require no more than 30 acres of total storage area, even if we store the wastes above ground.

DRUG TRAFFIC

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from New York (Mr. WOLFF), is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Speaker, this morning the Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs held a press conference to refute charges made in a syndicated column yesterday that some 26 tons of opium destroyed by the Thai Government on March 7, 1972, may not have been entirely opium.

At this press conference, it was admitted for the first time that about \$1 million of U.S. funds were spent for

resettlement of certain KMT irregular forces in Thailand in connection with the so-called seizure of the 26 tons.

I must strenuously protest the outright deception involved in the buying of this quantity of opium. No American or Thai official statement or any press dispatch ever mentioned that U.S. funds were involved in this so-called seizure which has been cited again and again by administration spokesmen as evidence of Thai cooperation to halt the drug traffic.

If the United States did buy up opium and see to it that it was destroyed, then the action might be defended. But, according to the BNDD, all we did was pay and inspect part of it before it was burned. Meanwhile, it was the Thais who collected it, tested it at the time of collection, and ultimately destroyed it.

I had hoped that the BNDD might clear this matter up. However, all that has happened is that the new question of U.S. involvement in this case has surfaced and the BNDD spokesman admitted that he had not even read the official interagency report upon which the Anderson column had been based.

Therefore, I renew my request for this additional documentation in this matter so that we in the Foreign Affairs Committee may have the information available to us for our study and consideration.

SPECIAL ORDERS GRANTED

By unanimous consent, permission to address the House, following the legislative program and any special orders heretofore entered, was granted to:

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. TERRY) to revise and extend their remarks and include extraneous matter:)

Mr. KEMP, for 15 minutes, today.
Mr. McDADDE, for 5 minutes, today.
Mr. FRENZEL, for 15 minutes, today.
Mr. WILLIAMS, for 5 minutes, today.

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. DENHOLM) to revise and extend their remarks and include extraneous matter:)

Mr. GONZALEZ, for 5 minutes, today.
Mr. RONCALIO, for 15 minutes, today.
Mr. WOLFF, for 5 minutes, today.
Mr. HEBERT, for 60 minutes, August 3.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

By unanimous consent, permission to revise and extend remarks was granted to:

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. TERRY) and to include extraneous matter:)

Mr. McCOLLISTER in three instances.
Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia.
Mr. KEATING in two instances.
Mr. McCLOSKEY.
Mr. CARLSON.
Mr. CONTE.
Mr. GUBSER.
Mr. WYMAN in two instances.
Mr. GROVER.
Mr. MIZELL in 10 instances.
Mr. ZWACH.
Mr. BRAY in four instances.
Mr. STEIGER of Wisconsin.
Mr. STEELE in two instances.

openly dislikes. The limousine broke down once and he happily walked the half mile back to his home, got into his beat-up car and drove his chauffeur and himself to the office.

Q. The whole country talks as if the United States is in the midst of an energy crisis. The White House says it, the Congress says it and the press says it. What do you think?

A. I would prefer to avoid the general term "crisis." Clearly we have a problem with regard to fuels. We have topped out, in terms of oil production in the lower 48 states, at about 10 million barrels a day. Assuming Alaska comes on, that will provide an additional 2 million barrels a day. If you consider prospective demands for 1980, it lies somewhere between 22 million and 28 million barrels a day. If one took the immediately prospective oil prices for 1972, and we're talking about importing as many as 16 million barrels a day in 1980, the cost of that would be in excess of \$15 billion a year.

The U.S. balance of payments is in a rather parlous condition, and it's not clear that additional outpayment of \$15 billion a year for foreign oil is something we can support. And that is only assuming a static situation. The trend in oil prices is up, and one can anticipate they will continue upward. So that the burden on U.S. balance of payments, unless we're able to substitute other fuels for oil, could be on the order of \$30 billion a year.

Beyond the question of fuel supply, there is a seemingly chronic problem with respect to electric service reliability. In the near term, there has been concern regarding regional shortages of electric power supply with the resultant possibilities of brownouts and even blackouts.

Q. Can we substitute gas and coal for oil?
A. The further development of gas in sizable amounts seems out of the question—at least until we have gas from coal. The annual demand for gas could be greater than 35 trillion cubic feet by 1980, but the supply we anticipate will be little if any in excess of the 22 trillion cubic feet we produce today. There can be some supplement from imported liquefied natural gas, but it will be limited. We have enough coal to go for a century or more, but utilities have tended to shift away from coal because of its sulfur oxides and other pollutants. We have not developed a way of readily and economically getting rid of the sulfur in coal. There is a fair amount of low-sulfur coal in the West, but it's fairly expensive to transport. We will require an extensive national effort either to achieve coal gasification or otherwise to convert the coal to a form where it can be used in abundance within environmental constraints.

Q. The country wants power, but it wants clean, cheap power. How can it go on getting clean, cheap power in view of the fuels crisis you've just described?

A. The trend in power costs is upward. One reason it's upward is the introduction of environmental regulations. Another reason is the rising cost of fuel. As we clean up our fuels, as we prevent noxious combustion products from getting into the air, or as we limit the discharge of heat into the water, this will cost money. Consequently, the price of power will rise but it will be cleaner power.

Q. How much more expensive will it be?

A. The cost per kilowatt probably will be something like 40 per cent higher in 1980 than it is today, largely reflecting the higher cost of construction, the rising cost of fuels and environmental requirements. Through greater efficiencies we hope to limit the rate of increase in power costs. How? The construction of a nuclear plant now requires on the order of eight years—in other countries half that time. If we can cut the time for construction, we can do much to limit the increase in the cost of power.

Q. What happened to put this country in the fix it's in today with regard to energy?

A. The driving force behind the problem has been the enormous increase in energy demand, so that we have outstripped our own oil production at the same time that environmental considerations put limits on the strip mining of coal and the burning of coal. It all reflects the higher aspirations of America and it has all come together at the same time.

Q. Do you think there was a lack of foresight in government and industry as far as anticipating the demand for power, anticipating the environmental revolution and even in anticipating what could have been done in technology to offset the problems we have today?

A. There is something in that, though, it's very difficult to anticipate a relatively sudden development like the thrust toward . . . higher environmental standards. There have been new findings with regard to the physical and health impact of combustion products that have, I think, reinforced the esthetic or quality-of-life aspect of the environmental movement.

Most of the technology you've referred to has primarily been the responsibility of industry. The one exception was nuclear energy. As a result of the government monopoly in nuclear energy, the total energy research and development budget for civil application tended to be funded in a lopsided manner: most of the money into nuclear, relatively little into other energy sources. We can see this in retrospect.

One of the things you have to keep in mind is that the utility industry is a regulated industry, and even though it receives impressive revenues, nearly \$25 billion a year, it has rarely put significant money directly into research and development. This is partly because it's a regulated industry, partly because it's fragmented and partly because of reasons of its own historical perspectives and its role relative to the manufacturers. The utility industry should have been a major source of funding for technology development but it has not been. However, we now see clear signs of change.

Q. Congress has criticized the executive branch for scattering energy policy throughout as many as 61 federal agencies, which suggests that if the United States has an energy policy it isn't a coherent one. What is your feeling? Does the country have what you would call a coherent energy policy?

A. We need a far more coherent energy policy than we have at present. President Nixon's proposal for a Department of Natural Resources would help solve these problems, but I believe we should have review of our fuel policies in one place. At present, the Interior Department has responsibility for coal and oil, the AEC has responsibility for uranium, the Federal Power Commission licenses hydropower facilities and regulates the price of gas. I believe all these fuel policies should be under one roof, so there can be a more consistent treatment of fuels. As a member of the executive branch, I would say that one of the problems there is not only the fragmentation of responsibilities within the Executive but the fragmentation of assignments on Capitol Hill. In some sense, that may be a more difficult problem to deal with than reorganization with the executive.

Q. One aspect of our energy dilemma is the environmental movement, a movement that has forced considerable change on energy policy. What kind of impact do you think this movement has had—mostly positive or largely negative?

A. In some respects it has aggravated the dilemma because environmental regulations limit the use of fuels and technologies, but I think that in the large it has focused attention on the energy problem and in the long run that focusing of attention may be more valuable than the short-run impediments.

Is it necessary for total energy demand to grow at a rate of 4-5 per cent a year? This is the fundamental issue that the environmental movement has raised, and it is a good issue. Of course, it can be said that a fair number of environmentalists have been rather contentious, but this should not distract attention from the movement's fundamental contribution, which is to focus on what we can do about ever-growing energy use.

Q. How much good or ill effect has the environmental movement had on the atomic energy program in the United States?

A. Well, a minority in the environmental movement just do not like nuclear energy. The primary reason may be a fear of the unknown—neophobia. But all in all, the environmental movement has made a major contribution to nuclear energy. The reason is quite clear—the chief advantage of nuclear energy from an environmental standpoint is that there are no combustion products and therefore essentially no air pollution. There has been a push in the direction of nuclear power because of the low availability of fossil fuels that meet our environmental standards. I'm not sure that was the objective of the environmentalists, but that's the way it has worked out.

Q. How can you say the environmentalists have helped nuclear power that much? They've held up licensing permits on countless nuclear plant projects, which doesn't seem like much help.

A. Hearings by licensing boards have been far more extensive than necessary. Delaying tactics have been deliberately employed in some cases, and I don't believe that's in the public interest. However, we should all be careful not to blame environmentalists. Many plants, both fossil and nuclear, were behind schedule even before the upsurge of interest in environmental matters. The schedule slippage of most nuclear plants is due to inadequate planning, the slow pace of construction, labor disputes, the late delivery of equipment, and prolonged test programs. There are a fair number of plants which have elicited no protests from environmentalists that are two or more years behind schedule. The United States has turned out to be a country of relatively low efficiency in the construction of nuclear power plants. Until we've improved our efficiency, we should all be careful not to put too much blame on the environmental movement.

Q. Nuclear power generates less than 2 per cent of all the electricity produced in the U.S. today, but is a growing fraction of the total. Could you tell us what your latest projections are for nuclear power?

A. We're still projecting 25 per cent of total capacity in 1980 in nuclear plants. That would be approximately 150 million kilowatts. Construction lags might slow it down. By 1990, our estimate rises to almost 50 per cent of total power, something on the order of 600 million kilowatts. Changes in national energy and fuel policy could speed that up. It is useful to reflect on those numbers. When the United States entered the Second World War, the generating capacity in the country was 42 million kilowatts. So the nuclear power estimate for 1980 is almost four times the total generating capacity of the U.S. at the start of the Second World War. For the next few years, the annual additions to nuclear capacity will represent about 50 per cent of all the power we had prior to World War II. Roughly 50 per cent of all the capacity being ordered today is nuclear and in the years ahead it will probably be closer to 65 per cent.

One reason for hesitancy in ordering nuclear plants is the congestion in the regulatory process, delays in hearings, delays in licensing. But despite these delays, I think utilities recognize that nuclear plants meet environmental standards and provide a ready source of fuel. They look to the future and they probably see fewer uncertainties with

Drug
August 7, 1972

TRAINS STILL RUN ON TIME

Even the trains that used to run on time in Mussolini's Fascist Italy are now running on time in Peking with the now familiar sophistries that its dictators are in charge and representative of the ever abused "people." Such moral garbage that comes from the Left today used to come from the Right. Which proves, at least, that human rights carries no other label, but an ideological one.

A potential freedom fighter in Athens or Havana waits hopelessly for someone divorced from the ideological struggles that forge new chains as they break the old ones to say no to unfolding history and yes to Thomas Jefferson's "eternal hostility to all tyrannies over the minds of man." The above is a true liberal banner that now lies crushed and silent as the boot-loving current banner wavers shriek their admiration for diverse dictators.

We Americans will not say yet, and yet we can. What we have become is a tragedy of retreat and defeat.

Whoever wins the Presidential election, at least with McGovern and Nixon running, it is definitely not a beauty contest. What did he say? Who's listening [sigh]?

The roster of some of the names around the McGovern in the background reads like a Quixotic platoon of the New Frontier warriors who were fractured on the shores of Viet Nam. Some who were mesmerized by his charisma would have crossed the River Styx for J.F.K., but not L.B.J. And others saw blood dripping from the robes of Camelot.

It is difficult to guess just who thought that Harvard [with a Boston accent] could do no wrong and "My fellow Americans" [L.B.J.] could do no right.

HARVARD AND L. B. J.

One hates to even imagine that the destiny of America might have—and still could—hinged on a slipped syntax or a Hollywood profile.

And there McGovern gets a plus. The man is plain looking to the horror of the Beautiful People who never tire of running a John Barrymore for President. "When McGovern crossed his legs, a vast expanse of white shin was exposed to the cameras. Gloria Steinem solved that problem and set McGovern on the road to recovery by dashing to a local mens' store and bringing back a pair of over-the-calf socks." From "McGovern."

Gloria, please get your cosmetician hands off our Populist, he's got enough problems with "friends" trying to help him.

ASIAN DRUG INFLOW FOUND
"GREATER THAN REALIZED"

HON. PHILIP M. CRANE

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 7, 1972

Mr. CRANE. Mr. Speaker, recently the New York Times printed an article under the headline, "Asian Drug Inflow Found 'Greater Than Realized.'" In the course of the article, which was a lengthy one—about 42 inches of copy—it developed that the Bureau of Narcotics had concluded that the amount of high-quality heroin being smuggled into this country from Southeast Asia is "greater than previously realized."

I must say, Mr. Speaker, this announcement comes as no revelation to a thinking person, except, perhaps, to the Bureau of Narcotics. I, for one, have always maintained that the drug flow from

Red China, euphemistically referred to nowadays as "mainland China," was greater than publicly acknowledged.

I also have a very brief, one-paragraph news note from the Washington Post of August 2, mentioning a \$1 million haul of heroin in New York. Origin of the heroin? "Mainland China." The investigation leading to these arrests had been in progress for 3 months; no doubt there are similar ones still going on. I will not be surprised to hear in the next few months of similar drug traffic exposés, with a similar point of origin for the contraband.

It is unrealistic to place most of the blame on Turkey and France for the tremendous influx of drugs into our country. After all, what interest has Turkey in undermining the character of America's citizens? Surely not the same interest that Red China, given her ideological convictions, has in weakening America. Red China is trying very hard, and so far, with great success, to utilize this most recent weapon in the "continuous revolution" between the Communist world and the non-Communist world.

It is no accident that the young men who go at their country's calling to fight a war in Southeast Asia are the ones most vulnerable to the drug-plague and the ones hardest hit by it. It is no accident, either, that our Government policy has low-keyed the Chinese role in the drug traffic—political and diplomatic expediences play their parts in the attempt to cast the blame on France and Turkey.

I am encouraged that my first point has been acknowledged; how long will it be until the second one is recognized? Mr. Speaker, I insert two newspaper articles in the RECORD at this point:

[From the New York Times, July 28, 1972]
ASIAN DRUG INFLOW FOUND "GREATER THAN REALIZED"

(By Seymour M. Hersh)

WASHINGTON, July 27.—A secret analysis by the Government's top narcotics enforcement agency has concluded that the amount of high-quality heroin being smuggled into the United States from Southeast Asia "is greater than previously realized."

The new Government report, compiled last month by the Strategic Intelligence Office of the Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs, further showed that narcotics-control personnel was beginning to accumulate evidence linking organized crime to the Southeast Asian drug market.

Another Government study, reported on in The New York Times on Monday, concluded that there was "no prospect" of halting the drug flow from Southeast Asia into the United States. This Cabinet-level study was later discounted by the man who commissioned it—Egil M. Krogh Jr., a special White House aide for narcotics matters.

Mr. Krogh said "there has been substantial progress" in reducing the influx of drugs from Southeast Asia.

The Narcotics Bureau report stated that "the traffic at present relatively unorganized, but has definite potential for expansion as a replacement for Turkish-French heroin."

Officials from the Central Intelligence Agency, State Department, Narcotics Bureau and Defense Department "are presently reviewing the international trade," the report added, "with particular focus on Southeast Asia as an alternate to the Middle East as a source of supply."

WHITE HOUSE THINKS OTHERWISE

Nixon Administration spokesmen have repeatedly maintained publicly, in opposition to statements of critics, that heroin smuggled from Southeast Asia makes up only a small fraction of the total United States annual supply.

Last month Nelson G. Gross, the State Department's senior adviser for international narcotics matters, told a Congressional hearing that "the overwhelming majority of the heroin coming to the United States originates in the Middle East and is processed in European laboratories before being smuggled into our country. We estimate that probably 5 per cent and certainly no more than 10 per cent of the heroin presently flowing into the United States originates in Southeast Asia."

The Cabinet-level study, while completed last February, was at odds with Administration thinking in its conclusions that there was "no prospect under any conditions that can realistically be projected, of stopping the drug flow from Southeast Asia. It was immediately assailed by Mr. Krogh.

Asked in an interview today about the Narcotics Bureau's analysis, Mr. Krogh acknowledged that "from what I've learned so far, there has to be a strong likelihood" that organized crime is involved in the flow of heroin from Southeast Asia, but he added that the evidence was not yet conclusive.

"STATISTICS ARE FLUID"

He emphasized that the Administration set up its international narcotics program only 18 months ago. Because of this, he said, it would be "impossible" to estimate accurately which area in the world was responsible for which percentage of the heroin reaching the United States. "Statistics at this time are so fluid," he said.

Other officials said that content of the bureau's analysis had been approved by that agency's over-all intelligence board before its dissemination inside the Government.

The Narcotics Bureau, a Justice Department agency, indicated in its study, made available today, that much of the growing amount of heroin from Southeast Asia was being smuggled into the United States by "essentially political Chinese entrepreneurs operating out of Laos, Thailand and Hong Kong. The heroin is sold to ethnic Chinese seamen, many of whom may be organized, who jump ship once their vessels dock in the United States.

Further intelligence may "reveal more precisely the role of Far East heroin in the United States," the document said, "and may reveal the substance of long-standing hitherto unverifiable reports of a 'Chinese-Corsican' connection between morphine base from the Orient and the chemical expertise of the Marseille area. Perhaps this preliminary report will stimulate interest in acquiring more data on the 'Chinese connection.'" Morphine is another product of opium, which is extracted from poppy seeds.

Intelligence reports "over the past year indicate an increase in the number of ethnic Chinese who illegally enter the United States and Canada," the document said, adding that the volume and the pattern of techniques used in the delivery of narcotics were not sufficiently known.

"However," the report said, the bureau "views the amount as a serious and increasing threat."

EIGHT CHINESE ARRESTED

Government intelligence agencies recently set up a joint effort, known as Project Sea Wall, to stem the growing smuggling through United States and Canadian dock areas. Within a month of the program's initiation on April 7, the report said, eight ethnic Chinese were arrested, most of them carrying one to four pounds of high-quality heroin strapped to their bodies.

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to control a runaway program, but to insure that the monies are distributed equitably among states and that real and needed public services are produced in the process. Surely some more rational basis must exist for distributing several billion dollars of taxpayer money than one depending upon the relative ambition and ingenuity of a few state and federal officials.

THE NEW POLITICS: IS IT OUT OF STEP?

HON. WILLIAM L. SPRINGER

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 7, 1972

Mr. SPRINGER. Mr. Speaker, there is a great deal being said about what the workers in the country are thinking about the coming campaign. An article in the Chicago Tribune of Sunday, August 6, 1972, titled "The 'New Politics' Is Out of Step" by Mike LaVelle of Cicero, Ill., covers this aspect of the coming campaign very clearly. Mike LaVelle is a laborer in a pipebending shop and a free lance writer. What does labor's rank and file think about these labor leaders and their decisions—meaning George Meany, president of the AFL-CIO and I. W. Abel, head of the United Steelworkers—when they said they would not endorse GEORGE MCGOVERN? How does the blue-collar man view GEORGE MCGOVERN and his proposals? This is an interesting and well-written article by a blue-collar worker who seems to understand what the issues of his time are. I know my colleagues will enjoy reading it.

THE "NEW POLITICS" IS OUT OF STEP
(By Mike LaVelle)

They drove out Johnson, defeated Humphrey, booted Daley, and now the "kids" have their very own candidate for the Presidency of these United States of America. We thought they had their noses buried in an underground newspaper and all the time it was a delegate tally sheet. The kids are working within the system—"whoopie" and "baloney."

They have never been out of the system, they are of it and in it, in the quality and quantity of their lives, up to their eyebrows, and always have been.

When a contemporary liberal affectionately, always, affectionately uses the word "kids," I know who and what he means—the affluent and pampered children of the white-collar Left. The blue-collar Hells Angels are hoodlums; the upper class Weathermen et al are idealistic "kids," who are never idealistic enough to demonstrate on campus for mine safety after the live burials of their lesser peers in cave-ins.

NO CAREFREE SUMMERTIME

There are no formal sabbaticals or carefree summertimes for blue-collar youth to flood the streets of America working for this or that political candidate or cause. Instead they are in factories, steel mills, mines, or Viet Nam in the noncampus, nonelite system as it is. They were definitely not in evidence among the McGovern delegates at Miami.

Life magazine called the Oregon delegation to the Democratic convention "nearly perfect" according to the McGovern reform rules. Using Oregon as representative of all the McGovern delegates at Miami, let's look at its 34 delegates. There were six students,

five teachers, four business people, four lawyers, three writers, two bureaucrats, two editors, two politicians, two homemakers, one social worker, one newspaper indexer, one retired Army officer, and one secretary. The delegation included the correct amount of women, blacks, and youth which all sounds very democratic on the surface but which deceptively is not so.

McGovern claims a blue-collar electoral response to his primaries. Yet not a one of the Oregon delegates, black or white, sweats on a production line. So how could they effectively represent me or my peers who do, even if they wanted to. My gut feeling is that they do not want to represent me.

Of all the delegates at Miami, 39 per cent had postgraduate degrees, 31 per cent had family incomes over \$25,000 a year, and the average income was \$20,000 a year. I do not know the national average, but mine with a nonworking wife and two children is roughly \$7,800 a year.

So much for the much ballyhooed "New Politics" McGovern convention.

Whatever Meany, Woodcock, Abel, et al do concerning McGovern is more a matter of whether they give or withhold vast financial and organizational support than direct votes from rank and file. The primary votes of Michigan for George Wallace prove how grandiose the myth and pittance of the power of labor leaders to deliver the so-called labor vote.

In the past, the deliverance was merely a pro forma statement on de facto votes—essentially when Republicans were the reactionary bad guys and there was nowhere else for a worker to go except to the Democrats. Those days are over.

Now the Republicans are the moderates and the Democrats seem to be embracing the Left crazies or allowing themselves to be embraced. Pragmatism seems to have become a dirty word to the moral purists who have taken over the Democratic Party. As a consequence they have given President Nixon a bigger ball park, and he is Mister Pragmatism himself.

One suspects that McGovern's "Kamikaze economic advisers" have unconsciously already structured their Utopia and tipped their game-plan prematurely by abolishing money—if not as a medium of exchange than as sensible campaign oratory, barring the other and more probable extreme that they are printing their own.

How else can you explain proposals, such as a \$30-billion cut in defense spending simultaneous with "jobs for everyone," massive social legislation, simultaneous with a relief of tax burdens and a thousand dollars mad money for each citizen—a cynic might be tempted to say each voter.

THE ENEMY OF FANCY

Facts are ever the enemy of fancy, and what glazes the dreamer's eye often distorts his vision—assuming that the McGovernite economists fault on the side of the angels or the purities of some bizarre ideology. Or is it possible that the under-30 rhetoric and mystique have dropped to under 10? And if one were to interrupt the cream of the cerebral McGovernites in a planning conference would he find them, in serious mien, hovering and jabbering over Monopoly, play money and all?

If there is a sweetish odor in the air then one can safely assume that Harvard's economists are drafting another zinger for McGovern. I'd strongly suggest that McGovern give these people a mythical candidate to play with and leave the real one alone.

"In San Diego, I was campaigning at an aerospace plant, walking alongside a wire fence and shaking hands with some of the workers, and the reception I was getting wasn't very enthusiastic. And I wasn't feeling very good about what was happening either. Then a man stuck out his hand and

said, "I need my job, but I need my country more. I'm for you. In California military spending was an important issue, and I was heartened, that a worker would put love of country above his own job." From George McGovern's "How I won the Nomination" in Newsday.

That is twisting "love it or leave it" to "love it and leave your job." Or defense spending one has to give McGovern an "A-plus for honesty" as was given to Barry Goldwater on other issues. Unfortunately for politicians the kin of candor is too often defeat. It is not hard to envision McGovern's old politics advisers thru clenched teeth telling him, A minister's son is good imagery, George, but this is an election, not an annointment."

To tell a man with a wife, two children, and no job that he has just struck a mighty blow against the military-industrial complex—"F.D.R.'s Arsenal of Democracy" remember?—is poor politics indeed and dangerous when there is a Luddite Left in America which yearns for the good old days of horsedrawn inhomogenized milk wagons and nonunionized laborers who were kept in their place by men of style and substance.

It does little to enhance McGovern's populist image that one of his fat cats is Stewart Mott, one of the owners of General Motors, who admits to paying zero taxes while the workers on a G.M. assembly line voice an unfair tax burden as one of their major complaints.

EMERGING ELITE SCORN

The anti-Polish jokes of Henry Kimelman [as reported by Nicholas von Hoffman], another McGovern fat cat, lends credence to suspicions of an emerging elite liberal scorn for the nonblack, nonbrown, non-Jewish, and non-WASP ethnic groups in America who make up a large part of blue-collar voters that gives another reason to retaliate in November.

Unless McGovern disavows some of his snobbish friends, they may, in tandem with frenetic Yuppies, rupture whatever liaisons McGovern might have to middle America.

Politicians who stray from the vast, if safe middle are generally ambushed not by adversaries, but by zealous advocates who attempt to move them farther Left or Right than they wish to go. I'm sure that the S.D.S. and the giggle Left will do to George McGovern what the John Birch Society and the Ku Klux Klan did for Barry Goldwater.

The Klan took Goldwater's sincere questioning of civil rights legislation as a commandment for its repeal, the Birchers took his plan for military field decisions as a "yup" for Armagedden. Nightmares that must haunt McGovern might well be those of a "now" child planting some pot on him, a leftist crazy pinning a Mao Tse-tung button on him, a gay lib transvestite embracing him on national television, or being presented with an aborted fetus.

Not to be overlooked is that in November we will be well into the school year, and bus-ing will be a hotter issue for the Democrats than the Republicans, providing that the Republican platform is against it or vague enough not to be blatantly for it as the McGovern position appears to be.

The Left-Right, war-peace zeitgeist has so completely swung around in the last 35 years that the isolationist America Firsters from the 1930s must be spinning in their graves. And those still living feel a bittersweet nostalgia at seeing the interventionist and global warriors of yesterday rallying around the slogan "Come Home America."

Has anyone ever asked ex-bomber pilot George McGovern ["Jan. 31, 1945: Hit Moose-bierbaum, Austria—bombed thru overcast—very light flak." From "McGovern" by Robert Sam Anson.] how many women and children he killed in his bombing runs during World War II?

Give us a rough estimate, George.

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One seizure, on April 11, resulted in the arrest of seven Chinese seamen carrying a total of 11 pounds of heroin, the bureau's report said. It added that "further information developed that this 11 pounds was part of a 100-pound shipment which originated in Bangkok and was evidently delivered by a European diplomat assigned to Thailand. Sensitive sources have revealed that more shipments, sponsored by other groups, are on the way; arrests are anticipated in the near future."

Significantly, the report noted that "the smuggling activities of Chinese seamen imply a loose but rather extensive arrangement between the seamen and their United States contacts to carry out the movement of narcotics from Southeast Asia on a continuing basis. These arrangements appear to involve some degree of organization at the receiving end and possibly at the sending end."

The report listed docks in San Francisco, New York, Miami and Vancouver as areas with some degree of organized smuggling, but also said that high-quality Southeast Asian heroin had entered the United States through other ports—among them Seattle, Portland, New Orleans, Baltimore and Philadelphia.

The report contained a number of clues indicating that the amount of organized smuggling could be far higher than even now suspected.

It cited the arrest of a Philippine diplomat late last year in New York City with about 37 pounds of a brand of highly refined heroin known as "double uoglobe." It was the diplomat's third trip to the United States, the report said. "At least one previous time he was accompanied by a known Chinese heroin dealer in Bangkok."

The "double uoglobe" heroin, manufactured in Laos, was widely sold to United States servicemen in South Vietnam in 1970 and 1971.

MARKETING BUILDUP SIFTED

At another point, the bureau's analysis said that "sensitive sources also reveal frequent communications between Chinese heroin traffickers in New York, Seattle, San Francisco, Portland and Vancouver, suggesting that an extensive wholesale marketing mechanism exists or is being established."

In recent years, United States narcotics officials have repeatedly said that 80 per cent of all heroin known to be consumed in the United States comes via Marseilles refineries from Turkey's opium-growing areas. Ten to 15 per cent was said to come from Mexico.

The bureau's report tended to support the position of the opium-growing in Turkey and other areas a prime goal of its antinarcotics drive. Officials now expect the opium production in Turkey to end this year.

The Nixon Administration's leading critics of the Administration's narcotics drive—Representative Robert H. Steele, Republican of Connecticut, and Alvin W. McCoy, a Yale graduate student who has written an exposé of the heroin traffic in Southeast Asia.

When told of the bureau's report, Mr. Steele commented: "Vietnam is truly coming home to haunt us. No matter what they say, this means that the first wave of this material is already on its way to our children in high school."

Mr. Steele, a first-term Representative who last year helped reveal the extent of heroin addiction among G.I.'s in Vietnam, asserted that Narcotics Bureau attempts to stop smugglers from jumping ship or otherwise getting into the United States were misguided.

"Instead of trying to put up this barrier," Mr. Steele said, "it would be much more economical if we just went to our allies in Southeast Asia—to Thailand, where most of this stuff comes from—and stopped the traffic there."

He specifically cited what he termed the Administration's inability to interfere with the known large-scale smuggling of opium via trawler from northern Thailand to refineries to Hong Kong and Malaysia.

During testimony June 2 before a Senate subcommittee, Mr. McCoy, a Ph. D. candidate in Southeast Asian history, testified that beginning in 1965 "members of the Florida-based Trafficante family of American organized crime began appearing in Southeast Asia."

Mr. McCoy specifically named Santo Trafficante Jr., whom he described as the heir to the international criminal syndicate established by Lucky Luciano and Meyer Lansky, as having traveled to Hong Kong and Saigon in 1968.

"In 1967-68 there was evidence of increased activity on the part of Indochina's Corsican gangsters," he also stated. "United States agents observed Corsican hero 'in traffickers commuting between Saigon and Marseilles, where the Corsicans control the clandestine heroin laboratories."

Mr. McCoy then told the subcommittee that a former high-ranking C.I.A. agent in Saigon—subsequently identified as retired Lieut. Col. Lucien Consein, who played a major role in South Vietnam for more than 10 years—"told me in an interview that in 1969 there was a summit meeting of Corsican criminals from Marseilles, Vientiane, and Phnompenh at Saigon's Continental hotel."

Intelligence sources acknowledged in subsequent interviews that the Government began studying the Southeast Asian narcotics trade less than two years ago, primarily in response to the rapid increase of G.I. addiction. In early 1971, the White House reportedly ordered the C.I.A. to coordinate intelligence efforts in the area.

[From the Washington Post, Aug. 2, 1972]
HEROIN SEIZURE

New York.—Three Chinese pleaded innocent in federal court yesterday to charges arising from the seizure of nearly \$1 million worth of heroin from mainland China.

Judge Marvin E. Frankel continued bail at \$50,000 for Mrs. Tam Chun, 41; \$5,000 for her husband, Henry Chan Chun, and \$20,000 for yee-Tom Choy.

The case was assigned to Judge Constance Baker Motley, with no date set for trial. The three were arrested July 21 after a three-month investigation.

GOOD NEIGHBOR FOUNDATION

HON. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 7, 1972

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, in commemoration of National Friendship Day, August 7, I wish to call attention to the existence and accomplishments of the Good Neighbor Foundation. The foundation was founded by Mrs. Marguerite Timper Wilcox on August 7, 1920. Its members are senior citizens dedicated to service to handicapped veterans and civilians. Mrs. Wilcox, a resident of my congressional district, is handicapped herself and since the founding of the organization has been active in service to the community and an inspiration to other handicapped persons in the Milwaukee area and through her worldwide correspondence.

The poem written by Mrs. Wilcox on

the occasion of the 48th anniversary of the founding of the Good Neighbor Foundation expresses best the spirit and the purpose of the organization and I am pleased to place it in the RECORD and commend it to the attention of our colleagues:

WHEN?—HOW?—WHY?

(By Marguerite Timper Wilcox)

We are to celebrate here
Our wonderful—48th year
Of The Good Neighbor Foundation
With members throughout the nation.
Founded—August 7, 1920
When Marguerite thought she was ready
Even though she was very ill
Through complete—Faith and Will
She prayed, prayed and prayed
When over 2 years in bed she laid
And only 69 pounds she weighed
In 24 hours the Dr's to her parents said
Marguerite Timper would be dead
Completely unconscious—she was they
thought

But every single word she caught
Doctor told the Mother to
Prepare a bit of chicken stew
But that very night
Marguerite—ate not a—bite
But had her nurse—Ruth Ward
Send the first shut-in-card
To lovely Irving Berlin's wife
Who also was fighting for her life
Later many phone calls she made
As more—strength she gained
Then to add to peoples fun
Various parties she did run
For the lonely, Handicapped, and Aged
Into Volunteer services she waded
All this time our member—Nelle
Helped—Marguerite—to get well
When Helen Fuschig—again came
She added her wisdom to the game
Of bringing various joy to all
For entertainment in-the-hall
Some other old members are here
And of course are very dear
But I love you—all, so don't you fear
You are marvelous to one another
Treating each as a dear Sister or Brother
With your—Christian attitude
Bringing out one another's good.
Dr. Wilkinson, Nurse Ward and Druggist
Meiner

They could not have been finer.
Many in this world no longer roam
For they have been called home
Some wonderful marriages we have had
And to that we can add
Many marvelous romances
Who still enjoy their companions dances
Al, Bess and Tillie and Gus
Delores, Charles, Ida and Camilus
Marie, Otto, Leta and Bill
Say life without one another
Would be nil
Oh, yes of elopements we know this
They too are enjoying married bliss
Thousands of letters Marguerite does write
At her desk—day and night
All these—and many more
Love to you—she does pour
Yes, and talents she scouts of all ages
All this for 48 years—without wages
And since 1920 many serious illnesses she has
had

But it has not left her sad
For life to her means to make you glad
And hopes to show you visions of love
By belief in God and blessings from above.

Yes, I am glad that I am handicapped for
thereby I found God, I found myself, and I
found you.

And I hereby now rededicate myself again
for another year.

Thank you—and may The Lord richly Bless
You

August 7, 1972

CAN WE AFFORD TO BE
SECOND BEST?**HON. MARIO BIAGGI**

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 7, 1972

Mr. BIAGGI. Mr. Speaker, the debate continues to rage in this Congress and on the public platform, in an attempt to define and project America's defense priorities for the immediate future. Many observers have termed the coming Presidential election a crucial one, in terms of a decision by the American people between widely diverse views of this Nation's role in the spectrum of world events.

For the further general edification of my colleagues, I would like at this time to include in the RECORD the text of a recent statement on the subject by Mr. Geoffrey R. Simmonds, president of Simmonds Precision:

CAN WE AFFORD TO BE SECOND BEST?

(By Geoffrey R. Simmonds)

Since the end of the Korean War, the United States has followed a "balance of power" strategy in an effort to maintain world peace. The philosophy behind this strategy is that we can avoid a confrontation of world powers only if we maintain a constant military posture equal to, or stronger than our potential enemies. This strategy is expensive. It is supported by heavy expenditures in research and development and a strong financial commitment to advance military technology.

The War in Southeast Asia has had an effect on this balance of power that has gone largely unobserved by the American public. We have spent more than \$150 billion of our national wealth in the day-to-day costs of maintaining the Vietnam War. As a result our financial resources have been strained and we have curtailed during this period, our research and development of new weapon systems and advanced military hardware.

In contrast, the Russians, since the Vietnam War have taken advantage of our slowdown to embark on an airport technological development program aimed at global military supremacy. We can no longer rely on the "sour grapes" rationalization that our technological quality is better than the Russians' quantity. The bare assumption of U.S. technical superiority is no longer valid. Let me give you an example from the aircraft industry. The U.S. Air Force is developing an advanced variable-geometry strategic bomber, the B-1, which is scheduled to fly three years from now. The Russian equivalent of the B-1 is the "Backfire" strategic bomber. Three of them are flying now . . . and there are more on the way.

Another example is the new Russian MIG-23 "Foxbat" twin-jet, all weather fighter. This is a Mach 3 aircraft that out-performs in speed and altitude anything we now have in service or on the drawing boards. The Grumman F-14 Navy variable wing fighter aircraft is scheduled to be operational with the fleet in 1973, and the McDonnell Douglas F-15 is scheduled for service with the Air Force in the mid-70s. Both are rated at Mach 2+.

The Russians now have 50% more first line aircraft than the U.S. And more than half of our air fleet is over 10 years old.

The same problem exists on the high seas. The U.S. and Russia have roughly the same number of naval vessels in commission. Less than 10% of the Russian ships are more than 25 years old. In contrast, 75% of our fleet is that age.

It is clear that Russia is making a determined effort to be the No. 1 military power in the world in order to expand its international political and economic influence.

There can be little doubt that the ball is in our court. We are under enormous pressures at home to pour more of our national wealth into the resolution of social and environmental problems. Simultaneously, we must decide whether world peace and U.S. political and economic interests across the globe can be served by our becoming the second best military power in the world. Ultimately, the decision rests with the American people. The debate will probably be sidestepped in the 1972 elections, but it is likely to be a major issue in 1974 and 1976.

As we reconsider our technical-military role, we would do well to take a long, hard look at our industrial posture in today's changing world. At the end of World War II, the U.S. had the most modern and efficient industrial complex in the world. A large investment in plant and equipment permitted high wages, provided high productivity, and gave us the assurance that we could sell our products competitively anywhere in the world.

Now, times have changed. Both our friends and our former enemies—partly with American taxpayers' money—have completely rebuilt their war-torn industries. They control industrial plants that are, relatively speaking, more modern and productive than ours.

It is interesting to compare the productivity of \$100 in 1970 wages in a few selected countries. A Japanese company gets more than 100 hours of work for each \$100 of wages. Compared with that, a French, German or British company will get about 50 hours of work. For the same wages, an American company gets only 25 hours of work. It is obvious that we must be four times as efficient to compete with the Japanese. And we have seen the results: imported products at prices well below domestic levels.

In one of our main markets, aerospace, the European governments together have committed \$4 billion in taxpayers' money to the development by private companies of commercial aircraft. In this way, four different commercial aircraft will be developed. The governments and the companies intend to capture the lion's share of a \$30 billion market.

It is against the traditions of the U.S. free enterprise system to use public money for commercial development. European governments, on the other hand, have already come to grips with the fact that private industry simply cannot finance the sky-rocketing costs of advanced technology. They consider the "national interest" to include healthy technological development of industries such as aerospace computers, atomic energy and electronics, and they have decided to use public money for these purposes. Over the next few years, we in the U.S. will be faced with the same decision.

The 25-year honeymoon—when we were supreme in both the competitive mili-

tary and industrial worlds—is over. The government must establish new national priorities, not only of a social nature but also of a scientific and technological nature. We must decide which industries can compete in world markets over the next 25 years, despite our high wage costs. These industries should be nurtured, encouraged, and supported when necessary.

We must modify our tax system so that over the next five to ten years our plant and equipment is once again the most modern and efficient in the world. Labor and management are both going to have to work harder. Interdependence, rather than independence, will have to be developed to a much greater degree. Featherbedding and make-work projects will have to go because our economic system can no longer support them.

We are about to live through one of the most challenging periods of our history. The question is whether or not we shall rise to the challenge and energy and purpose if we do, we shall retain and strengthen our world position, our self-respect and the respect of others, if we do not, we shall become a second rate power.

YOUNG ADULTS

HON. RICHARD G. SHOUP

OF MONTANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 7, 1972

Mr. SHOUP. Mr. Speaker, a number of my constituents have expressed their concern for the attitude in Congress toward young adults. I have assured them that I, along with a great number of my colleagues, believe that young adults must be represented as individuals and must share equally as citizens the privileges and responsibilities of our society. The future of our country lies in creating job opportunities for our youth, and that all youth should have the chance to better themselves through vo-tech or college training.

I feel the following list of bills is of the type we have and should continue to act on:

H.R. 6531. Provided incentives for building a volunteer Army thereby eliminating need for draft.

H.R. Res. 223. Amended U.S. Constitution to lower voting age to 18 years.

H.R. 12596. Coordinates all of the Federal agencies connected with the drug abuse problem into a Special Office for Prevention of Drug Abuse.

H. Res. 739. Expanded Federal Student Intern Program to interns for employment during the summer months.

H.R. 7352. Establishes an Institute for collecting information on and training officials for the treatment and control of juvenile offenders.

H.R. 11112. Provides individual income tax deductions for Vo-Tech and other higher education cost.

H.R. 14552. Allows single individuals same tax benefits as married persons.

DRUGS.

Harper Proceeding On Drug-Trade Book Despite C.I.A. View

After receiving a brief critique from the Central Intelligence Agency, Harper & Row, Inc., has decided to proceed with the publication of a book by a 26-year-old Yale graduate student that charges that the agency is involved in heroin trafficking in south east Asia.

Harper & Row submitted galleys of the book, "The Politics of Heroin in Southeast Asia" by Alfred W. McCoy, to the C.I.A. after the agency's general counsel, Lawrence R. Houston, wrote the publishing house on July 5, asking "to see the text."

B. Brooks Thomas, vice president and general counsel of Harper & Row, said yesterday in an interview that the C.I.A.'s criticisms, delivered by hand on July 28, "were pretty general and we found ourselves rather underwhelmed by them."

In the book, Mr. McCloy states: "American diplomats and secret agents have been involved in the narcotics traffic at three levels: (1) coincidental complicity by allying with groups actively engaged in the drug traffic; (2) abetting the traffic by covering up for known heroin traffickers and condoning their involvement; (3) and active engagement in the transport of opium and heroin."

In a covering letter to the eight-page, 1,500-word critique, Mr. Houston stated that "it is plain that Mr. McCloy has limited his citations to those supporting his thesis, and he appears to have ignored available information which might contradict it."

"The truth is that the C.I.A. has never been involved in the drug traffic and is actively engaged in fighting against it," the letter added.

In a telephone interview from New Haven, Mr. McCloy said he was "struck" by the "incredible disparity" between the "confident, strident, militant tone" of initial C.I.A. criticisms of the book and "the final letter, which was very, very weak—pathetic almost."

The book is scheduled for release on Aug. 17.

C.I.A. Plans No Further Action

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Aug. 8—The C.I.A. plans no further attempts to block publication of the McCoy book, a spokesman for the agency said today.

Referring to the announced decision of Harper & Row to proceed with early publication of the book, the spokesman said:

"We sent them a letter and that's it. I haven't heard any talk here of seeking an injunction or taking any other legal steps to halt publication."

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inafter referred to as the 'Council'), which shall consist of twelve members to be appointed by the Attorney General. It is the sense of the Congress that each member of the Council shall be from a different public interest group, and that the Council shall have representatives from at least eight of the following groups:

"(1) the United States Conference of Mayors;

"(2) the National League of Cities;

"(3) the Urban Coalition;

"(4) Urban America, Incorporated;

"(5) the National Association of Counties;

"(6) the National Governors' Conference;

"(7) the American Bar Association;

"(8) the International Association of Chiefs of Police;

"(9) the Police Foundation;

"(10) Common Cause;

"(11) the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; and

"(12) the Brookings Institution.

"(b) Each member shall serve for a term of four years, and shall receive no compensation for his services as such member except for that provided for persons intermittently employed in the Government service in section 5703 of title 5 of the United States Code.

"(c) The Council shall hold such meetings and adopt such rules as are necessary to the transaction of its business and the performance of its duties under this title. The Council is authorized to hire such staff, and at such salaries, as it shall find necessary.

"(d) The Council shall have authority—

"(1) to certify or revoke certification of any person, whether such person is an employee of the Administration or an outside consultant to it, who is to perform any study required under section 473(a) of this title, and no such study shall be valid for the purposes of this title unless performed by a person with respect to whom a Council certification under this subsection is in force, and

"(2) to exercise general and specific oversight concerning the administration of this part, including the review and resolution of disputes between the Administration and any unit of general local government with respect to the propriety or interpretation of any conditions and terms of any grant made under this part, and this authority may be exercised in the implementation and operative stages of programs and projects assisted under this part as well as at the application, planning, and study stages of such programs and projects."

THE PEKING CONNECTION: COMMUNIST CHINA AND THE NARCOTICS TRADE

(Mr. WAGGONER asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the Record and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. WAGGONER. Mr. Speaker, many of us here in the Congress are worried by the amount of drugs that make their way into our country from many nations abroad. We all know and have read of the dangerous drugs that make their way here from Turkey, Mexico and other nations, but little is being said by this administration about the drugs that are being produced and clandestinely brought into the United States from Communist China.

Recently I came upon an extensive study which calls on our government to make a "fair, thorough and objective examination" of the amount of dangerous drugs making their way on the American market from mainland China.

This 36-page study, commissioned by The Committee For A Free China and written by Allan C. Brownfeld, columnist, author, lecturer and winner of a Wall Street Journal Foundation Award, cites authoritative United States, Soviet, Dutch, Argentinian, Republic of China, Egyptian, British, Japanese, Hong Kong, Filipino and German sources for its conclusions.

The study titled, "The Peking Connection: Communist China and the Narcotics Trade," concludes:

If our society is serious about putting an end to the flow of narcotics into our cities and into our military installations abroad, we must, initially, determine precisely who it is that is producing and marketing the drugs involved. The evidence, as we have seen, indicates that the government of Communist China bears a large portion of the responsibility.

"The Peking Connection" states that in the face of such far-reaching substantive evidence, the U.S. Government "refuses to name Communist China a suspect, if not an active participant, in the narcotics traffic." It asserts:

What is most exasperating is the burden of proof now falls on those who have accepted at face value years of official assertion by the Executive Branch of Government that Red China was in fact engaged in the drug traffic.

The study asks:

Should it not be the obligation and responsibility of the government of the United States—faced with a mountain of incriminating evidence—to prove or disprove the validity of Red China's involvement in narcotics trafficking?

Among the many citations are:

Chou En-lai's statement to Egyptian President Nasser that—

We are planting the best kinds of opium especially for Americans.

Prof. Stefan Possony of the Hoover Institution asserting:

Between two-thirds and four-fifths of the high grade heroin sold on the international market is and can only be supplied by mainland China.

Representative SEYMOUR HALPERN, of New York, saying:

There is reason to believe that opium produced in Communist China, particularly in the Yunnan Province does enter the Golden Triangle—Burma, Thailand, Laos—drug conduit in Southeast Asia.

Consistent testimony by Harry J. Anslinger throughout the 1950's when he was U.S. Commissioner for Narcotics that Red China was heavily engaged in illicit drug trade.

A charge by U.S. Narcotics Commissioner Henry Giordano in 1963 that—

The Red Chinese are extensively engaged in drug traffic.

A 1970 Fact Sheet of the Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs which states:

In the Far East, opium is cultivated in vast quantities in the Yunnan Province of China and the Shan and Kachin States in Burma. Although much is consumed by opium smokers in the region, considerable amounts of the drug find their way to the United States.

A report by Prof. James Turnbull of the Royal Military College of Science which states:

The Chinese Communist government export illicitly 2,000 tons of opium a year to the non-Communist world.

A British narcotics expert, A. H. Stanton Candlin, who says that:

When President Nixon visited Chou-En-lai he saw the biggest drug pusher in the world, with 800,000 acres under cultivation.

A Pravda article by a Soviet correspondent based in Tokyo who charged that Communist China was the biggest opium, morphine and heroin producer in the world.

An Argentinian English-language paper which reported:

The Chinese Communists were exporting large quantities of the cheapest but highest quality heroin to Vietnam in a plot to paralyze the American troops.

A Filipino Senate chairman saying that the value of narcotics smuggled into his country from the Chinese mainland via Singapore and Hong Kong had reached over \$1,000,000.

The eyewitness testimony of a Chinese refugee before a House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee that she had seen the Chinese Communist army growing opium in Yunnan Province.

Yet, says the study:

The evidence amassed by the Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs, the evidence presented by Harry J. Anslinger, the material put together by Professor Turnbull, the statements of President Nasser, the Japanese narcotics experts, Pravda and others, seems to have made little impression upon the rest of official Washington at the executive level.

Good relations cannot be developed between the United States and its Asian allies, an assault with narcotics which is as real and dangerous as an assault with tanks, guns and planes.

Mr. Speaker, I include the entire study in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD so that my colleagues and the American people may learn the extent to which the Red Chinese are attempting to infiltrate their dangerous drugs upon the youth of our Nation.

THE PEKING CONNECTION: COMMUNIST CHINA AND THE NARCOTICS TRADE

(By Allan C. Brownfeld)

FOREWORD

It has been said in recent days that the fight against narcotics addiction is the nation's number one domestic priority.

Thousands of servicemen are returning from Vietnam with drug problems, and these newly returned addicts are fueling an already serious situation in our cities.

There is significant evidence leading to the conclusion that Communist China is one of the primary sources of the opium which is then refined into heroin to which Americans in Southeast Asia have been subjected.

In 1965, for example, the Egyptian publisher and longtime confidant of the late President Nasser, Mohammed Heikal, quoted Communist China's Premier, Chou En-lai, as stating that, "The more troops the U.S. sends to Vietnam, the happier we shall be, for we feel we shall have them in our power, we can have their blood . . . Some of the American soldiers are trying opium, and we are helping them. We are planting the best kinds of opium especially for Americans."

After an extensive study of the drugs

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coming into the American and world markets, Professor Stefan T. Possony of the Hoover Institution at Stanford University, declared in November, 1971 that, "Between two-thirds and four-fifths of the high grade heroin sold on the international market is and can only be supplied by mainland China . . . The heroin offensive appears to have accelerated in 1965."

Although few Americans are aware of the fact, our own government placed a formal complaint before the United Nations in 1955 concerning the opium being produced in Yunnan Province by the Communist Chinese government. Since 1955 it appears that Communist Chinese efforts in this field have increased dramatically.

Yet today, at a time when the United States Government repeatedly declares its commitment to end the illegal traffic in narcotics, it refuses to seriously consider the role being played in the drug traffic by the government of Communist China.

In fact, one is led to the conclusion that the Administration places the entire burden of proof regarding Red China's involvement in the dope trade on the shoulders of American citizens who are deeply concerned about this narcotics traffic.

The Committee For A Free China takes on this task only because we anxiously seek the truth, and we do not wish to see the realities of something as horrifying as narcotics proliferation swept under the proverbial rug.

Discussing the effort by White House spokesmen to end all consideration of the role of Communist China in the drug market, columnist Jack Anderson wrote in the Washington Post of May 26, 1972:

"In an unusually conciliatory move toward Peking, the White House is vigorously mobilizing the administration to fight what it calls 'arrant nonsense' about Red China's role in world dope trafficking.

"The White House gesture toward Mao Tse-tung comes even as President Nixon is wooing Mao's arch-rival in the Communist world, Soviet Party head Leonid Brezhnev.

"A White House memo contains evidence that Richard Nixon, once the implacable foe of Communist China, is now defending China. The memo was circulated quietly to the Departments of State, Defense and Treasury, and the U.S. Information Agency.

"The memo urges them to fight 'propaganda' against Red China. Included with the memo is a two-page briefing paper prepared by the federal intelligence agencies on Red China and opium."

The two-page briefing paper, according to columnist Anderson, contends that a "persistent propaganda campaign . . . is being promoted in this country by a number of groups who have consistently opposed normalization of relations between the U.S. and the PRC . . . no evidence has yet been produced to indicate any attempt on the part of Peking to introduce opium or heroin into Vietnam."

The White House also maintains, without providing any evidence of its own, that China strictly controls opium production. Anderson states that "Even in the old opium belts of Yunnan Province, states the briefing paper, there is no 'significant illicit cross-border movements' to the outside world."

The White House approach to this question is not only "unusually conciliatory," as columnist Anderson noted; it also overlooks the real evidence which is available, both with regard to Communist China's acknowledged past history in narcotics production as well as its current role.

The Committee For A Free China commissioned Allan C. Brownfeld, columnist, author, lecturer and recipient of a Wall Street Journal Foundation award, to review all of the available literature in this field,

as well as to talk with experts in this country and in the Far East, including Hong Kong, long known as a major port of entry for narcotics. The conclusions drawn in Mr. Brownfeld's study are at variance with the conclusions drawn by the White House, whose conclusions appear to be political and unrelated to the real story of the production of and traffic in narcotics engaged in by the government of Communist China.

It is clear that in any instance where the machinations of a totalitarian government are at work, it is not possible to know in detail all of the internal and external practices engaged in by that government. To say that we do not know all there is to know about this subject is obvious. But what we do know certainly merits an investigation. The evidence which is available leads not to the exoneration of Communist China, but to its conviction.

The facts, however, must speak for themselves. They, and not political rhetoric, will lead to a solution of the drug problem which all of us say we want to solve, but which some seem to be aiding and abetting by permitting other goals to stand in the way of a thorough exploration of the world as it really is.—The Committee For A Free China, June, 1972.

On March 20, 1972, President Nixon called drug abuse the nation's "Number One domestic problem" and said that despite the need to save money "this is one area where we cannot have budget cuts."

The Washington Post declared that the President's statement concerning narcotics included "some of the strongest language he has used about drug abuse." The President said that the heroin pusher is worse than a murderer or burglar because what he does "strikes at the very heart of the society in which we live."

In our efforts to prevent narcotics from entering the country we have taken action in Turkey, in France and elsewhere in the world to see that narcotics traffic is stopped at its source.

Yet, despite our efforts, narcotics addiction increases, both within our own country and among American servicemen in Vietnam and elsewhere in Southeast Asia. In addition, the flow of narcotics is heavier than ever before despite the fact that new restrictions have been imposed on the previously identified main sources of raw opium from which heroin is produced, namely Turkey and Iran.

In recent days there has been much discussion about the possible role played in the production and distribution of narcotics by the Communist Chinese government.

Many and diverse spokesmen—journalists, political leaders, academicians—have declared that Communist China is deeply involved in the drug traffic, and is using this traffic for the twofold purpose of gaining foreign exchange and subverting both American servicemen and non-Communist Asian societies.

Let us consider some of the statements which have been made on this subject.

Speaking on the C.B.S. radio network on February 23, 1972, commentator Jeffrey St. John declared that "Ever since the establishment of the Reds on the China mainland they have been actively involved in drugs. However, it has only been in recent years that narcotics have served a specific ideological end, coinciding with the mushrooming of the drug problem in Western nations like the United States."

Testifying before a Congressional committee in July, 1971, Dr. Robert Baird, a New York drug expert with 24 years in the field of drug addiction, contended that the Chinese Communists are now preparing to use drugs to demoralize the American population, especially young people, and for ideological purposes. Dr. Baird declared that we are being misled into thinking that Turkey

is the primary source of narcotics, and he estimated that Communist China produces 55 to 60 percent of the world's hard drugs.

In a report in October 1971, to the House Foreign Affairs Committee entitled, "The International Narcotics Trade and Its Relation to the United States," Rep. Seymour Halpern (R-New York) stated that "... there is reason to believe that opium produced in Communist China, particularly in the Yunnan Province, does enter the Golden Triangle—Burma, Thailand, Laos—drug conduit in Southeast Asia."

Rep. Halpern noted that "It has been difficult, because of China's great wall of isolation, to document the extent of her opium production in relation to her own consumption and to her medicinal requirements. Several experts have estimated, however, that the minimal medical need for her huge population would require about 100 tons of opium production per year. It is known that the People's Republic of China has the capacity for large cultivation, particularly in the Southern provinces. . . . There have been numerous rumors that a good portion of China's vast crop finds its way into illicit channels."

The Washington Report of the American Security Council for January 13, 1972 reported that Hong Kong police have stated that illegal drugs smuggled out of Communist China and bound for the Free World increased nearly 1,000 percent in 1971, most of it in opium, the raw material from which heroin is made. Police in Hong Kong seized 12,500 pounds of opium last year, as compared with only 877 pounds in 1970.

Rep. Philip M. Crane (R-Illinois) stated on April 12 that "At a time when there is a euphoric feeling that peace may be at hand with the Communist Chinese, a feeling not borne out by the fact that the Peking government continues to sponsor subversion and terror throughout Asia, one important question remains unanswered and, to a large measure, unasked. That question is this: how involved is Communist China in the flow of narcotics in Southeast Asia, and elsewhere in the world?"

Citing the available evidence, Rep. Crane concluded that, "At a time when thousands of young Americans, particularly servicemen in Vietnam, are becoming addicted to heroin and other dangerous drugs, it is incumbent upon our government, if it is sincere in its desire to stem the tide of such drugs, to investigate the possible involvement of Communist China in their production and distribution."

A report published in England in April, 1972 declared that "The Chinese Communist government exports illicitly 2,000 tons of opium a year to the non-Communist world."

Prepared by James Turnbull, Professor of Applied Science at Britain's Royal Military College of Science, the report states that "The annual sales are estimated to be worth \$500 million to Peking."

Professor Turnbull writes that "The covert dissemination of opium narcotics, in particular the addictive drug heroin, for commercial and subversive purposes represents one of the gravest threats to the armed services and societies of the free world."

Published by the Foreign Affairs Publishing Company, Ltd., this report includes a foreword by a Conservative member of Parliament, Geoffrey Stewart-Smith, who writes: "James Turnbull has produced a devastating exposure of the way in which the allegedly 'trustworthy' Chinese People's Republic is carrying out a massive secret chemical warfare strategy by exporting opium and heroin to the non-Communist world. In view of the growth of drug taking in Eastern Europe, it is possible that the Chinese Communists are doing the same thing to their 'fraternal' Communist states there too."

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Speaking to the 43rd Annual Conference of the Copley Newspapers at Borrego Springs, California, on February 14, 1972, Lt. General V. H. Krulak (U.S. Marine Corps, Ret.), stated that "The Chinese Reds do want hard money and opium is probably China's greatest export staple. They are doing everything they can to improve and expand opium culture, and it is estimated that they earn almost a billion clandestine dollars a year from their dope sales."

That there is a widespread feeling that Communist China is deeply involved in the narcotics traffic is clear. Concern, however, is far from being conclusive in determining what role the Communist Chinese do, in fact, play in narcotics production and traffic. Let us turn to the available evidence and to the very real history of Communist Chinese involvement in narcotics.

Speaking to a group of Congressional aides this past February, A. H. Stanton Candlin, a British narcotics expert who has spent many years in the Far East, declared that "When President Nixon visited Chou En-lai he saw the biggest drug pusher in the world, with 800,000 acres under cultivation."

This idea was confirmed by Mohammed Hassanein Heikal, editor of *Carlo's* semi-official Al Ahram newspaper and a confidant to the late Egyptian President Nasser, who reported that Premier Chou En-lai told Nasser in 1965 that Communist China planted opium in Vietnam, hoping to demoralize U.S. troops there with drugs. The London Sunday Telegraph of October 24, 1971 quotes President Nasser as stating that "One of the most remarkable things Chou En-lai said that night when talking about the demoralisation of the American soldiers (in Vietnam) was that 'some of them are trying opium, and we are helping them. We are planting the best kinds of opium especially for the American soldiers in Vietnam.'"

According to Mr. Candlin, the Chinese Communists are now using a policy of "psycho-chemical warfare" first used by the Japanese on the Chinese themselves in the 1920s and 1930s. The Japanese established brothels and spread morphine. It was done by intelligence services of the army and the Chinese method being used today "can be traced to the Japanese. They saw it done to themselves and they are improving on it."

Corroboration is set forth in the volume, "Traffic in Narcotics," published in 1953, by Harry J. Anslinger, the United States Commissioner for Narcotics for many years.

In 1950, after the Chinese Communists established control of the Mainland, Mao Tse-tung forbade opium smoking in China and a few opium growers were executed with great publicity. Yet shortly thereafter, Commissioner Anslinger placed an American complaint before the United Nations to the effect that the Communist Chinese were smuggling narcotics into Japan. His evidence was overwhelming and proved that during the early 1950s China was heavily engaged in the illicit drug trade.

As the U.S. Representative to the United Nations Commission on Narcotic Drugs, Mr. Anslinger had many occasions to warn the free nations of Communist China's illicit narcotics trade. Here are several excerpts from his remarks before the U.N. Commission, in April, 1955, concerning the opium being produced in Yunnan Province:

"At the end of 1953 a group of smugglers, including an official of the Bank of Canton, (smuggled) 23 pounds of heroin and morphine from Yunnan to Chiengmai to Bangkok and thence to another transshipment point . . .

"Despite the efforts of the Burmese Government to control the illicit traffic in narcotics, hundreds of tons of cleaned and packaged opium in 1-kilogram units are brought into Burma each year from Yunnan Province . . .

"The hub of the traffic on the Yunnan side of the border is Tengyueh. Along the border are found trucks, military vehicles, carts, mules and pack trains used for the transportation of opium . . ."

Several months before his retirement in 1962, Commissioner Anslinger further illustrated the extent to which Yunnan contributed to the Communist Chinese narcotics traffic. The following is from the Report of the Seventeenth Session (1962) of the U.N.'s Commission on Narcotic Drugs:

"92. With reference to the question of the origin of opium in the Burma-mainland China-Laos-Thailand border area, information was reported by the representative of the United States concerning investigations carried out in recent months in cooperation with control authorities in the Far East.

Three witnesses, former inhabitants of Yunnan province in mainland China, had made detailed statements to United States Treasury Department officials on the cultivation of opium in Yunnan and its export from there to the Shan states in Burma. One witness had himself been a cultivator, and in 1953 and 1956 he had also, with his mules, joined caravans transporting opium to the Shan frontier, where he assisted in its transshipping into trucks for transport to a trading company at Kentung, Burma. Two caravans, of 108 and 82 mules, had transported over 4 and 3 tons respectively, two sealed tins of 20 kilograms being carried by each mule. The cultivator estimated that some 6 tons of opium had been produced annually in the area where he lived, and that the total production of the region in 1961 had been of the order of 1,000 tons."

Speaking before the U.N. Commission on Narcotic Drugs on April 15, 1953, Mr. Anslinger set forth the proposition that the Communist Chinese government did, in fact, engage in and sanction the illicit export of opium and its derivatives. He said:

"When the Communists occupied the whole of China, opium-smoking was prohibited in the land by order of the Communist Administrative Department, but it soon became known that traffic in narcotics would be permitted if it was contrived behind the scenes so those who wished to export opium applied to the government organization controlling special items and received licenses to export opium which amounted to a license to buy and sell opium and heroin. Tientsin and Canton are the chief opium and heroin export centers in China.

"Within the Communist government there is the Opium Prohibition Bureau of the Peoples' Government. Within this Bureau the responsible persons are: Po I Po, Chief of the Finance Division; Yih Chih Chuang, Chief of the Trade Division; and Wang Feng Chi, who as Chief of the Hwapei Opium Prohibition Bureau is the actual person in charge.

"The Opium Prohibition Bureau amounts to a government monopoly, which in the Tientsin district, is known as the Yuta Concern which is located at 5 Aomen-lu, 10 Ward, Tientsin. Wang Tsu Chen is the head of this concern, Li Tsu Feng is the managing director, and Sung Han Chen is an active partner . . . The opium business in the Canton district is monopolized by the South China Trade Bureau under the name of 'Lin Chi Hang.' Wang Jui Feng, a senior Communist leader, is in charge."

After providing additional details of opium production in other areas of China, Mr. Anslinger outlined the coordination of the narcotics personnel and agencies with other governmental departments:

"The traffic in narcotics is closely related to other organs of the Communist government. For example, there is a close relation with the People's Bank of China and the Bank of China, both of which have local

branches throughout the country with special counters to handle loans, extend credit, and handle mortgages for opium. The transportation of opium is guarded by the armed forces. These agencies along with the Tobacco Monopoly are also the organs for handling the transactions in opium. The responsible persons of the Tobacco Monopoly in the various districts have close connections with the big opium dealers. They employ the names of recognized firms for their export business and conduct narcotic transactions under the protection and cover of various subterfuges."

When Mr. Anslinger made these charges at the United Nations, the Soviet Union responded that there was no truth in the charge that Communist China was engaged in illicit production and traffic in narcotics. After the Sino-Soviet split, however, the Soviet Union altered its estimate of Chinese Communist innocence in this field.

An article in *Pravda* of September 13, 1964, written by a Soviet correspondent in Tokyo, based on first-hand observations in Peking and supported by statements of the Japanese National Narcotics Committee, charged that Communist China was the biggest opium, morphine and heroin producer in the world. Total proceeds from the illicit narcotics traffic were alleged to yield some 500 million dollars annual revenue for the Chinese Communist Party. Independent reports from other agencies in Tokyo, West Berlin, and London confirmed the magnitude of this illicit export traffic to the outside world. Soviet sources, basing their assertions on Japanese reports, indicating that some 8,000 tons of opium were produced in China in 1958. This staggering figure represents about ten times the total world requirement for legitimate use.

In a speech on September 21, 1961, Rep. Francis E. Walter (D-Pennsylvania) referred to Communist Chinese "dope warfare" against American and United Nations troops during the Korean War. He added that many of the narcotics were peddled "at bargain prices by young women pushers near all military installations in Korea." He stressed that the products were of high quality and reported that during 1952 the Japanese police arrested over 2,000 pushers near American installations in Japan. He stated that opiates were coming into Hong Kong, Burma and Thailand from the North and he quoted the U.N. Commission on Narcotic Drugs as the source of his information. During the Korean War, U.S. troops found an opium processing plant in Pyongyang which was producing prepared opium and morphine.

In his study, Professor James Turnbull notes that after World War II ended " . . . drug-taking in Japan rose rapidly. By 1949, heroin addiction in the country had reached alarming proportions. Reports from the GHQ of the Supreme Commander of Allied Power in Tokyo, based on arrests and seizures in the intervening period till 1951, revealed that large amounts of Chinese opium and heroin were reaching Japan from North Korea and Hong Kong through the ports of Yokohama, Kobe, Kure and Sasebo. In 1960 considerable amounts of Chinese heroin of Hopen origin were seized in Japan."

A Japanese National Committee to combat the narcotics traffic was established under the chairmanship of Mr. Tsusai Sugahara. Reports of this Committee were quoted by the *Pravda* correspondent in Tokyo to the effect that Peking was netting annually from Japan some \$170 million for drugs. Approximately 25% of this sum was estimated as going to the support of the Japanese Communist Party. The total narcotics traffic in Japan is currently valued at approximately \$500 million, two thirds of which represented transshipments to the United States through the port of San Francisco. The estimated wholesale price of Chinese heroin in Japan was some \$4,000 per pound in 1960.

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Increasingly in recent years United States spokesmen up to the highest level have asserted that 80% of the heroin brought into the United States is manufactured from Turkish opium. When asked whether or not Communist China was involved in the narcotics traffic, the response has consistently been negative.

At a news conference held on December 28, 1971, Nelson Gross, senior adviser to the Secretary of State and Coordinator for International Narcotics Matters, was asked, "Do you have any evidence pro or con that any of the opium comes from China?" His response was the following:

"We have no evidence that any opium is coming from China at all. In fact, we have even had reports that some has moved up from Burma across the border into China. I might say here that the Chinese and our own government have had virtually an identity of interest and an identity of policy for a century. We have consistently been with the Chinese Government over the years in trying to eradicate not only production but obviously trafficking and use of opium and derivatives."

Mr. Gross was then asked, "How would you know if it were coming from China or not?" His response:

"Well our intelligence sources indicate that it is coming from those areas (indicating "golden triangle" area on map). There is more than enough supply in those areas to account for all of the material which comes either into Southeast Asia, into victim areas—South Vietnam or the United States. We have no reports—and we would tell from those who might be arrested as to where they were acquiring the material—we have no report of any coming from China."

Mr. Gross declares that there is "no evidence." Yet the Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs on March 10, 1970 in a statement before the House Appropriations Subcommittee headed by Rep. John Rooney (D-New York) on Departments of State, Justice and Commerce, the Judiciary and Related Agencies, discussed the BNDD's overseas operations which are divided into three regions:

"The third Region is in Asia with a Regional Office in Bangkok and District offices in Seoul, Hong Kong and Singapore. The countries of Burma, Thailand, Laos and China (Yunnan Province) are sources of opium which move to Bangkok, Macao, and Hong Kong to be made into heroin which enters the West Coast of the United States."

The Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs refutes Mr. Gross' "no evidence" statement even further in its 1970 Fact Sheet 2, entitled, "Illegal Traffic in Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs." In this paper it states the following:

"There are two main currents of illicit traffic in opium and the opiates. One begins in the Middle East and ends in North America. The other pattern is from Southeast Asia directed to Hong Kong, Japan, China (Taiwan), and the west coast of America . . . In the Far East, opium is cultivated in vast quantities in the Yunnan Province of China and the Shan and Kachin States in Burma. Although much is consumed by opium smokers in the region, considerable amounts of the drug find their way to the United States."

The evidence amassed by the Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs, the evidence presented by Harry Anslinger, the material put together by Professor Turnbull, the statements of President Nasser, the Japanese narcotics experts, Pravda, and others, seems to have made little impression upon the rest of official Washington at the Executive level.

A memo dated February 15, 1972, was sent by a Member of Congress to his colleagues on the Task Force on Drug Abuse of the House Republican Research Committee. It was entitled, "Alleged Involvement of the People's

Republic of China in Illicit Drug Traffic."

This memo declared that "The government of the People's Republic of China has for years officially forbidden the private production, consumption, and distribution of opium and its derivatives. There is no reliable evidence that the PRC has either engaged in or sanctioned the illicit export of opium or its derivatives to the Free World nor are there any indications of PRC control over the opium trade of Southeast Asia and adjacent markets."

The memo came from the White House but was on blank paper. Discussing this material, Rep. John Ashbrook (R-Ohio) declared that "The memo, which was confirmed as a White House memo by my colleague was, interestingly enough, on plain white paper with no heading, no agency identification, no attribution—a real 'backgrounder.' It was real propaganda, too . . . The claim that the Chinese people are forbidden to produce opium for their own consumption is of course true . . . but the production of opium by the Red Chinese for illicit export is a long established policy which, of course, they deny."

Mr. Ashbrook notes that "The memo does indicate that there is evidence that there has been 'cross-border movement of opiates between China and Southeast Asia.' This, of course, confirms to some extent the BNDD claims that illicit opiate shipments have come from Yunnan Province. However, the White House memo puts the responsibility for such shipments on individual Chinese efforts which, they infer, violate Red Chinese government regulations. Information . . . shows that such individual efforts would violate Government regulations only if such traffic were for domestic consumption in China, whereas illicit export is approved and encouraged by the Government of Red China."

When the Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs initially stated that 80% of the heroin brought into the United States was manufactured from opium grown in Turkey, this figure included not just Turkish opium but Middle Eastern and especially Iranian opium. Iran remained a major opium producer and purveyor long after 1955, when it officially prohibited the planting of poppy seed. Cultivation was again authorized in 1969.

Turkish authorities have been restricting poppy cultivation from 21 to 9 provinces, with most of the planting restricted to four. As of June, 1971, all cultivation was prohibited. Production itself was curtailed before 1971. During this same period, heroin consumption in the U.S. and elsewhere went up dramatically. With a dynamic growth of consumption in the U.S. and elsewhere, and a concurrent reduction in the output of Turkish opium, the contribution of Turkey to the American heroin market cannot possibly have remained static at the 80% level.

Discussing this 80% figure, Professor Stefan T. Possony of the Hoover Institution, notes that, "U.S. experts watching the international narcotics trade have been asserting for years that 80% of the heroin consumed in the United States originates in Turkish opium. After being transformed into morphine somewhere in the eastern Mediterranean area, the morphine is shipped to France, converted into heroin, and smuggled to America. This 80% figure appears, for example, in the writings of Ramsey Clark, former Attorney General, and it was prominently used in 1971 when the then Postmaster General Winton Blount suggested the United States take economic sanctions against France. Evidently, magic numbers can have rather explosive consequences."

The 80% figure used by Mr. Clark, Mr. Blount and many others has finally been declared by the Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs to be inaccurate. On June 2, 1971, BNDD Director John E. Ingersoll testified to the House Select Committee

on Crime and bluntly de-magicalized the magic figure: "That was the figure used by the old Bureau of Narcotics. . . . When I became Director of the new Bureau. . . . I asked for data to support that precise figure and when it was not forthcoming, I dropped the use of the 80% figure which has been used traditionally for sometime. The best I can say now is that still the overwhelming majority comes from that source (Turkey) but whether it is 80% or whether it is 70%, I just cannot tell you."

Mr. Ingersoll also declared that the 80% figure "represents the percentage of opium (opiates) discovered in illicit traffic in the United States which is of Turkish origin." That is, 80% of the heroin seized has come from Turkey. It does not follow that 80% of the total American import of heroin is derived from Turkish opium nor that 80% of the imported heroin was processed in French refineries. Professor Possony points out that "The figure may actually mean only that the nets peddling the Turkish-French product are far less secure than other distribution channels."

Mr. Ingersoll added: "Once opium is processed into heroin and is seized in the form of heroin in the United States, it is beyond our technical capacity to trace it scientifically to its origin." The evidence provided by the Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs is, as a result, in the nature of "intelligence" and "common knowledge of traffic patterns," to use Mr. Ingersoll's words. There is no scientific method through which the Turkish-French origin could be proved in the laboratory.

Professor Possony states that "The 80% figure originally referred to Turkey and Iran. Turkey significantly reduced poppy acreage and also cut down opium production. Meanwhile, heroin consumption was increasing sharply in the United States and Europe. Yet in spite of these variations, which necessarily must have altered the arithmetic drastically, the magic figure remained immutable. Whenever a question was raised, the BNDD simply increased its 'estimate' of the illicit opium output in Turkey."

In continuing to maintain that Turkey is primarily responsible for the increase in the narcotics traffic without having any real evidence to substantiate this assessment, the Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs and other government spokesmen are, in effect, turning their backs upon the significant body of evidence which exists and which points to the involvement of Communist China in the narcotics traffic.

In an article which appeared in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of October 13, 1971, DeWitt S. Copp writes, "A shocking British government document has come into this reporter's hands; it is Great Britain's 1969 estimates of the contribution Communist China makes to the world's illicit production of opium. According to the British, as of two years ago the illegal world production of the drug from which heroin is derived was 5,000 tons, 1,000 tons coming from the Middle East and minor producers, the remaining 4,000 tons emanating from 'Southeast Asia (including Burma, Thailand and Laos)' and the 'Chinese People's Republic.' Of this amount, the official British estimate is 3,500 tons coming from Red China."

Mr. Copp continues: "The confidential document goes on to point out . . . that the average yield of opium per hectare of poppy field is seven kilos and that the total area under cultivation is estimated at a half-million hectares or 200,000 acres. The poppy-growing provinces are listed as Yunnan—where production is figured at 1,000 tons, Szechwan, Kwangsi, Kwangtung, Hopei and Honan. The annual revenue to Peking is placed at a half-billion U.S. dollars."

There is some undisputed history with regard to the past involvement of the Com-

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munist Chinese in opium and heroin production. In the course of the long march from southern China to the Yenan caves in Shensi, some 400,000 Communists were forced into a mountainous region which lacked agricultural and other income-producing resources. The Communists turned to the cultivation of opium as the most expeditious means of survival and of financing the "protracted struggle."

They began to market their product by 1938-39, and they were helped in their efforts by the Japanese who rescinded the prohibition on opium smoking that had been imposed by the Chinese Nationalist Government. The Japanese were anxious to stimulate opium consumption among the Chinese. The Communists were eager to trade opium for metals, including gold, and they reportedly also used opium as a bank reserve.

Recounting some of this past history, Professor Turnbull recalls that "The Japanese invasion of China in 1937 provides an example of the exploitation of narcotics for subversive purposes. During their occupation of the country, the Japanese made determined attempts to spread opium addiction in China. A significant development in this technique was the setting up of laboratories in Manchuria for the conversion of opium into morphine and heroin."

When the Communists came to power in 1949, reports Professor Turnbull, "their first drive was against the drug addicts. A series of decrees were promulgated forbidding imports of narcotics, and curtailing the domestic drug traffic. Significantly, no mention was made of actual opium growing in China, or of any prohibition regarding its export from the country. . . . The drug traffic was, in effect nationalized under the Central Finance and Economic Committee in Peking which became the central authority for all commercial dealings in opium narcotics expressly for distribution and sale outside China."

It is well known that heroin addiction among American troops in Vietnam steadily rose toward record proportions beginning in December, 1969. It has also been stated that a heavy heroin influx followed shortly after the Cambodian invasion in the spring of 1970. This influx was estimated from service deaths resulting from drug overdoses by Assistant District Attorney John Steinberg of Philadelphia, who investigated the Vietnam drug scene in the fall of 1970 as a special consultant to the Senate Subcommittee to Investigate Juvenile Delinquency. Shortly after the Cambodian operation "large quantities of heroin began arriving in Vietnam . . . uniform packaging and refining indicated a single highly organized source."

Reviewing the available information, Professor Possony stated that, "I am satisfied that while much detail remains hidden and statistical accuracy is not attainable, the overall story has emerged rather clearly. The various sources have—on the whole—been mutually confirmatory. The sources do reveal a cleavage of opinion on the role of Maoist China, but I believe this difference can be resolved. I also want to record that denials of Chinese Communist involvement which I have seen were in the nature of flat assertions and were never accompanied by analysis."

Professor Possony notes that "In terms of production, the Chinese Communists have the capacity for replacing suppliers like Turkey who may go out of business. They are also able to satisfy a larger market and/or growing market demands."

According to Ch'in Yung-fa, writing in the March 1972 Issues and Studies, published by the Institute of International Relations on Taiwan, "Since the establishment of the Peiping regime, exportation of dangerous drugs on a global scale has become one of the most important national policies of the Chinese Communists. Today, mainland China has become one of the major suppliers of

dangerous drugs in the international drug market."

Mr. Ch'in reports, "On February 1950, when the Communist troops led by Ch'en Keng and Sung Jen-ch'ung entered Yunnan Province, they brought large quantities of drugs to Kunming for sale. Since very little profit was gained, opium was transported by men and animals to Burma. From there it was transported to Rangoon via Mandalay and then to northern Thailand for sale. This marked the beginning of Communist dumping of drugs in Southeast Asia by way of Yunnan Province."

According to the Issues and Studies article, beginning in 1951, Loping, Kwangnan, Funning, Yensan, Chiupui and Luhsi in northern Yunnan were designated as a "special zone" for opium cultivation. Products were procured at official prices by the "Special Products Management Committee" of the "people's government" in each county. These products were then exported by the "Yunnan Provincial Trading Company." In addition, morphine and heroin processing factories, including ten big pharmaceutical factories, have, according to the author, been built in Yunnan Province.

The estimate presented by Mr. Ch'in, a specialist in Chinese Communist military affairs, is that "the Chinese Communists process about 10,000 tons of narcotics a year. From 1952 to 1957 the annual production and sale totaled about 2,000 tons, but it increased to 8,000 tons a year between 1958 and 1964. From 1965 to the present the annual export has been 10,000 tons, earning a net profit of over \$800 million U.S. dollars per year."

There is a great deal of independent evidence available which points to the validity of the conclusions drawn by Mr. Ch'in.

On October 15, 1970, the chief of the narcotic division of the Hong Kong Police revealed that large quantities of narcotics were seized in 1969 by Hong Kong police, including 10,500 lbs. of opium, 310 lbs. of heroin and 250 lbs. of morphine. All persons involved were punished according to regulations. The police official, however, said that to avoid "political issues," all Chinese Communists arrested had been released.

According to an article entitled, "The Inside Story of Chinese Communists' Sale of Narcotics," written by a former high ranking Chinese Communist Party cadre and published in the Hong Kong Times on December 12, 1950, there were three major financial resources in Communist China for export. These were "white goods," referring to rice, wheat, and cotton; "yellow goods," referring to gold, silver, U.S. dollars and bonds; and "black goods," referring to opium. The article noted that the "white goods" were used to pay the salaries of military personnel, government employees and teachers; the "yellow goods" to finance construction and military projects; and the "black goods" to pay for part of military expenditures and secret service costs and to eliminate the deficit.

Tsutsui Sugawara, Chairman of Japan's National Commission for Control of Narcotics, has disclosed that the Chinese Communists make a profit of 60 billion yen (approximately \$170 million U.S. dollars) from the sale of narcotics to Japan each year; however, the amount is less than one third of the total export.

In an article entitled, "How the Maoists Smuggle Opium," published in No. 30 issue of the semi-monthly, *Intelligentsia*, B. Bulatov, a correspondent for the Soviet Literaturnaya Gazeta, estimated that the annual production of opium on the Chinese mainland is about 8,000 tons of heroin.

Investigating the increase in narcotic consumption among American servicemen in Vietnam at the time of the Cambodian invasion, John Steinberg, an investigator for the

U.S. Senate subcommittee on Juvenile Delinquency, discovered that heroin which was 99.5% pure was being sold for as little as \$1.00 a vial. Heroin which was only 10% pure, he pointed out, could be sold for at least \$10.00 a vial. It was, thus, clear that the increase in narcotics was by no means only a money making venture, but had other purposes. Why did the increase occur after Cambodia? The evidence points clearly in the direction of Communist Chinese involvement for the political purposes of subverting by weakening its intended victims.

This fact was confirmed in the English language daily Vanguard published in Argentina. On October 31, 1970 it reported that "The Chinese Communists were exporting large quantities of the cheapest but highest quality heroin to Vietnam in a plot to paralyze the American troops. The local price was only US \$20 per ounce compared with US \$4,000 per ounce in the United States while the quality of heroin was 99 to 100 per cent refined."

In 1969, American deaths in Vietnam resulting from drug addiction averaged two persons a month. The figure rose, however, to two per day from January to October, 1970. Vanguard noted that "In the last six months the percentage of drug addicts among American troops in Vietnam had risen from 30 to 50 percent. In some military units 70 to 80 percent were reported. On October 31 (1970) a group of GIs was even trying morphine publicly before personnel of the CBS television network."

The chairman of the Labor and Immigration Committee of the Philippine Senate said on April 30, 1968 that the value of narcotics smuggled into his country from the Chinese Mainland via Singapore and Hong Kong had reached \$1,161,290. He said that the Hong Kong-based Communist drug traffic was intended to narcotize both the bodies and minds of the Filipinos and to damage economic construction in the Philippines in order to create dissatisfaction and incite rebellion among the Filipinos.

The Communist Chinese production of opium was confirmed in testimony presented May 17, 1972 by Miss Yuan Moun-ru before the Subcommittee of Asian and Pacific Affairs of the House Foreign Affairs Committee in Washington, D.C. The witness was described in these terms: "Miss Yuan was born in Szechuan Province of China. Both her parents were medical doctors. . . . Miss Yuan herself is an engineer with a degree in mechanical engineering from Chung King University. Because of differences with university authorities Miss Yuan was classified as a 'rightist' and was assigned by the Communist Party to work as a laborer in the mines and in factories for some ten years. In May, 1969, Miss Yuan escaped from the People's Republic by way of Burma."

In her testimony, she declared, "My route of escape from China to Burma is via Yunnan Province. I rode through Lu river valley and the district of Kaonigon Mountains. I saw with my own eyes the Chinese Communist liberation army growing opium in that area. So were the Burmese Communists and their mountain army under Chinese Communist influence. It did not surprise me, because the Chinese Communists, in order to defeat 'American imperialism,' have never hesitated to employ whatever means available to them. They would be glad to see their enemy degenerated, and collapsed without their firing even a single shot."

Mr. Lawrence Sullivan, Coordinator of Information for the U.S. House of Representatives, said on December 13, 1961: "For the first time in human history, the systematic production and distribution of narcotic drugs has become an organized government monopoly in Red China. In ten years, Mao Tse-tung has built up a virtual monopoly in opium, heroin and morphine."

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The 1966 edition of the *Encyclopedia Americana* stated: "It is to be assumed that even if the production of opium is forbidden, that country (mainland China) is still by far the most important producer."

Writing in *Human Events* on October 16, 1971, DeWitt Copp reported of the existence of a British government document which estimated that as of 1969, the total illegal world production of the drug from which heroin is derived was 5,000 tons. Of this amount the official British estimate is 3,500 tons coming from Red China. Mr. Copp reported that, "No doubt the authenticity of the British document will be challenged . . . However, supportive evidence is offered from a ranking official of the Dutch Narcotics Bureau and Jacques Kiere of the French Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs."

The Dutch official declared that "Smuggling of Red Chinese narcotics is on the increase in Holland. The main port of entry is Rotterdam and Amsterdam in that order. Most of the drug seized is heroin. Ninety percent of the crew members apprehended have been Chinese. Several of the ships involved have been Red Chinese. Our laboratories have verified that the drugs originate in Communist China."

The French official declared that: "The Bureau has always stated that Communist China is involved in poppy cultivation and illicit drug trade. We have much evidence on that."

In a recent publication, Interdoc reviewed a book by a German author, Dr. F. W. Scholmann, entitled: "The Maoists, Peking's Efforts in Western Europe." The reviewer says in part:

"Scholmann's account of the role of Peking's embassies in the West is absorbing, as is that of trade missions, press agencies and the like. In fact, this is the first book to my knowledge to give an outline of the organization and pattern on Communist China's silent approach to the West . . . Attention is paid to the political—not gastronomical—role of the Chinese restaurants and the organization in which the Communist restaurateurs are often the leading men. Nor has the writer avoided the embarrassing subject of the export of narcotics from China. It is said to reveal that Chinese Communist propaganda in the West seems to be financed largely from the proceeds of opium and other narcotic sales."

In contrast with all of the above, it is particularly disturbing to note that the United States Government, on the one hand, declares its interest in fighting narcotics addiction, both at home and among our servicemen in Vietnam, yet, on the other hand, refuses to name Communist China as a suspect, if not an active participant, in the narcotics traffic.

The hesitancy is something new. In 1963, for example, U.S. Narcotics Commissioner Henry Giordano charged that "The Red Chinese are extensively engaged in drug traffic."

Others in Asia have made the same charge. The Chairman of the Japanese National Committee for Struggle Against Drug Addiction stated in 1964 that "Peking has become the world's principal producer of opium poppies which yield opium, morphine, and heroin." The Prime Minister of Thailand accused Peking of flooding that nation with narcotics. In Hong Kong, a doctor at the anti-narcotic center stated, "There are upwards of a half million addicts in the British Colony supplied with narcotics flowing out of Communist China."

Discussing the new refusal to mention Communist Chinese participation in the narcotics traffic, Rep. Ashbrook stated that "When the President journeyed to Red China many of us who had observed the Red Chinese participation in the opium traffic hoped that at least Mr. Nixon would pressure the

Red bandits to stop this illicit contribution to world misery . . . It now appears that Mr. Nixon never even broached the subject . . . to Mao or Chou. Henry Kissinger vetoed bringing up the issue because it would have been too explosive at the initial meeting . . . The Communists won once more and American interests were subordinated . . ."

What is most exasperating to Members of Congress is that the burden of proof now falls on those who have accepted at face value years of official assertion by the Executive branch of government that Red China was, in fact, engaged in the drug traffic.

As a practical matter of deep concern to millions of Americans, should it not be the obligation and responsibility of the Government of the United States—faced with a mountain of incriminating evidence—to prove or disprove the validity of Red China's involvement in narcotics trafficking?

Syndicated columnist Paul Scott explained our government's refusal to discuss the real culprits in the international narcotics traffic this way: "Discussion of the heroin issue with the Chinese Communists also would contradict the official Nixon Administration position that 'there is no hard traffic from the Asian mainland.' This 'fig leaf' policy, as it is referred to within the American intelligence community, was adopted by the White House as part of the new Nixon policy toward accommodating Red China as a part of a new global balance of power strategy."

"Under this preconceived policy," writes columnist Scott, "government officials must not reveal any information of heroin traffic from China or the direct involvement of the Peking government. . . . Since the President's major foreign policy objective is to improve relations with Communist China, it is very doubtful that he will make any decision that might cause public embarrassment to the Peking government at this time."

It is interesting to compare this Administration attitude of accommodation and refusal to even discuss the role played by Communist China in the narcotics traffic with the harsh words President Nixon has directed at drug pushers. On March 20, 1972, the President made a trip to New York to inspect the first of nine planned regional offices of the Justice Department's new offices of Drug Abuse Law Enforcement. A UPI dispatch of that date, reporting on the President's visit, stated in part:

"Vowing 'no sympathy whatever' for the drug pusher, President Nixon called today for tougher law enforcement and harsher court penalties to help sweep narcotics from the Nation's streets."

"There isn't a penalty that is too great for drug traffickers who prey upon youth," the President declared. That is 'the most reprehensible of all crimes. It is worse than a crime like murder, a crime like robbery, a crime like burglary.'

"The President declared that 'For those who traffic in drugs, those who make hundreds of thousands of dollars . . . and thereby destroy the lives of young people throughout this country, there should be no sympathy whatsoever and no limit insofar as the criminal penalties are concerned.'"

Is the Administration willing to apply this "no-sympathy" policy to those in Communist China who as an intrinsic part of government policy support the narcotics traffic which has engulfed our servicemen in Vietnam and aims at the destruction of our very will to resist aggression and to defend ourselves? Is the only target the street pusher in New York or Chicago or Los Angeles? Must there not also be major concern with the source of the narcotics which has ruined so many lives, and threatens to ruin so many more?

Good relations cannot be developed between the United States and Communist

China if those relations are based on a failure to confront the very real assault which Peking is making upon the United States and its Asian allies, an assault with narcotics which is as real and as dangerous as an assault with tanks, guns, and planes.

The evidence that Communist China is a major participant in the narcotics traffic is overwhelming. Professor Turnbull writes, "The covert dissemination of opium narcotics, in particular the addictive drug heroin, for commercial and subversive purposes represents one of the gravest threats to the armed forces and societies of the Free World. The subversive operation must be recognized as a peculiar form of clandestine chemical warfare, in which the victim voluntarily exposes himself to chemical attack."

If our society is serious about putting an end to the flow of narcotics into our cities and into our military installations abroad, we must, initially, determine precisely who it is that is producing and marketing the drugs involved. The evidence, as we have seen, indicates that the government of Communist China bears a large portion of the responsibility. Those who argue that it does not have the real burden of proof upon their own shoulders. The American people are entitled, at the very least, to a fair, thorough, and objective examination of this question. They will not be satisfied until all the facts are laid out for their examination. When this is done, the real role of Communist China in the narcotics traffic will be clear for all to see.

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Allan C. Brownfield received his A.B. from the College of William and Mary, his J.D. from the Marshall-Wythe School of Law of the College of William and Mary, and his M.A. from the University of Maryland.

The recipient of a Wall Street Journal Foundation Award, he has written for such newspapers as the Houston Press, the Washington Evening Star, the Richmond Times Dispatch and the Cincinnati Enquirer. His articles have appeared in such journals as the Yale Review, the Texas Quarterly, Orbis, Modern Age, the Michigan Quarterly, Worldview, University Bookman, Commonweal and the Christian Century.

Mr. Brownfield is the author of two books, "Dossier On Douglas," published in 1970 and "Hung Up On Freedom," a collection of his newspaper columns, published in 1972. His essays appear in several college textbooks in the field of Political Science. Mr. Brownfield serves as Washington editor of Private Practice magazine, and his column appears each week in Roll Call, the newspaper of Congress.

He is the recipient of the George Washington Medal of Freedoms Foundation, Valley Forge, Pennsylvania, where he is a regular lecturer. He also lectures regularly at the Air Force Special Operations School, Eglin Air Force Base, Florida.

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APPENDIX I

LOCATIONS AND AREAS OF ORDINARY OPIUM PLANTATIONS

Location and districts of plantation	Total area (mu)
Northeast China: Counties on Sino-Korean border such as Yench'i, Hunch'un, Holung, Changpei, Fusung, Linkiang, Yian, Kuantien and Chingyu.	400,000
Northwest China: Shensi—Luehyang, Changyu; Kansu—Liangtang, Chingchuan, Hoshui, Chingning, Chingyuan, Wuwei, Changyeh; Ninghsia—Chungwei; Sinkiang—Yiwu, Nanhui, Sulai, Chinghua, Changchi; Tsinghai—Tungjen, Yushu; and Shensi-Kansu border districts.	
Inner Mongolia: Jehol—Chaoyang, Chengteh, Chihfeng.	250,000
	100,000

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APPENDIX I—Continued

LOCATIONS AND AREAS OF ORDINARY OPIUM PLANTATIONS

Location and districts of plantation	Total area (mu)
East China: Kiangsu—Tunghai, Kuanyun, Lianshui, Lihgo; Chekiang—Yuhang, Wukang, Anchi.....	700, 000
Central China: Honan—Nanyang, Neihsiang, Chech'uan, Fangcheng; Hupeh—Anshih, Laifeng, Hefeng, Tungshan, Huangpeh; Kiangsi—Juichin, Huich'ang, Yuntu, Hsinfeng; Anhwei—Hsuan-cheng, Taiping, Hsiuning, Nanning; Hunan—Paoching, Wangchih, Yungshun, Chinyang, Huit'ung, Wukang, Hsinning, Ch'angteh.....	1, 700, 000
Szechwan Basin: Szechwan—T'ungkiang, Nan-kiang, Pachung, Chiangching, Welyuan.....	30, 000
Southwest: Kwangsi—Silung, Silin, Paise, Chenpien, Makuan, Wenshan, Yenshan, Chiupai, Lusi, Ningeh, Szemao, Chenyueh, Mengla, Lantsang, Tsangyuan, Shuangchiang, Kungshan, Lichiang, Hooching, Tali, Chingtung, Kengma, Chenkang, Lungling, Juili, Lungch'uan, Kweichow—Pichieh, Chinglung, Hsingyi.....	2, 000, 000
Sikand and Tibet: Sikang—Yaan, Sich'ang, Hiuli, Tibet—Langma, Teh-ch'ing.....	
Kwantung Mountain Area: Kwangtung—Ch'ingyuan, Tungwan, Yingteh, Juyuan, Yangshan, Lienhsien, Kwangning, Szechui, Yunfu, Uangkang, Wuhua, Hsingning, Tzechin, Loch'ang, Yangchun, Feng-ch'uan, Kaoyao, Loting, Lufeng, Huahsien; and Hainan Island.....	330, 000

Remarks: The Chinese Communists bought marihuana seeds from India and Brazil in 1968, and planted them in Hainan Island; however, the production is unknown.

APPENDIX II

LOCATIONS AND AREAS OF SPECIAL OPIUM FARMS

Organizations in charge and name of farm	Area (mu)
Water and Soil Conservancy Bureau, Ministry of Agriculture:	
Third Experimental Farm.....	20, 000
Fifth Experimental Farm.....	16, 000
Central Bureau of State Farms, Ministry of Agriculture:	
Model Farm directly under central authority.....	12, 000
Chinchow Farm, Liaoning.....	7, 000
Frog Pool Farm, Liaoning.....	
Hsungyu Farm, Liaoning.....	
Princess Ridge Farm, Kirin.....	3, 000
Chiuchan Farm, Kirin.....	
Lingwu Farm, Ninghsia.....	
Tarim Farm, Sinkiang.....	
Kupeikou Farm, Hopei.....	
Chihung Farm, Hopei.....	
Huanghua Farm, Hopei.....	
Yungtien Farm, Hopei.....	
Kaoli Farm, Hopei.....	
Paoing Farm, Hopei.....	
Yellow River Valley Farm, Honan.....	
Hulan Farm, Chekiang.....	
Nansung Farm, Kwangtung.....	
Agricultural Products Bureau Ministry of Agriculture:	
Special Farm directly under central authority.....	Unknown
Chaoyang Farm directly under central authority.....	Unknown
Northwest Agricultural and Forest Bureau, Ministry of Agriculture: Second Farm.....	2, 000
Chinese Academy of Sciences:	
Special Products Farm, Institute of Sciences.....	800
Experimental Farm for Narcotic Plant Seeds.....	
Botany Institute.....	
Sinkiang Military Region: August First Farm.....	1, 000
Tibet Military Region: Chiangtze Farm.....	700
Inner Mongolia Military Region:	
Koehsin Farm.....	1, 500
Taolin Farm.....	
Ninghsia Hui Autonomous District: Yinchuan Farm.....	500
Heilungkiang People's Government: Chiamuszu POW Farm.....	1, 000
Liaoning People's Government: Peipiao Herb Farm.....	8, 000
Hopei People's Government: Huachuan Water Conservancy Farm.....	Unknown
Kiangsu People's Court: Huapei Hsinjen Village Reclamation District.....	2, 000

APPENDIX III

NARCOTICS REFINERIES

Area and name of factory	Products
Northeast China:	
Dairen Pharmaceutical Works.....	opium, morphine
Dairen: Dashuang Pharmaceutical Works.....	heroin
Shenyang (Mukden) Pharmaceutical Works.....	morphine
Mukden: China Company Nicotine Refinery.....	nicotine
Liaoning: Peipiao Pharmaceutical Works.....	opium
Liaoning: Chinchow Chemical and Pharmaceutical Works.....	morphine, opium
Fusung, Kirin: Northeast Chemical Pharmaceutical Works.....	morphine, ether
Yanchi, Kirin: Special Product Refinery of Northeast Korean Nationality Autonomous District.....	opium
North China:	
Peiping: Narcotic Laboratory affiliated with Medical Institute of Academy of Science (with four branches).....	morphine
Peiping: Narcotics Works under direct control of Pharmaceutical Bureau, Ministry of Health.....	opium
Peiping: Raw Materials Works, Narcotics Control Bureau, Ministry of Health.....	opium
Peiping: Narcotics Works of China Pharmaceutical Company (with three branches).....	opium, morphine
Peiping: Special Products Refinery.....	opium, heroin
Tientsin: Special Products Manu- factory.....	heroin
Tientsin: Chinese Products Export Company Refinery, Ministry of Foreign Trade (with five branches).....	opium
Tientsin: Refinery under direct control of Monopoly Enterprise of Ministry of Commerce (with nine branches).....	opium
Chingwan, Hopei: Special Products Experimental Refinery, Ministry of Agriculture.....	opium
Kupeikou, Hopei: Native Products Refinery.....	opium, morphine
Taiyuan, Shansi: Chemical and Pharmaceutical Works.....	morphine
East China:	
Hangchow, Chekiang: Chekiang Phar- maceutical Works.....	opium, morphine
Shanghai Pharmaceutical Works.....	opium, morphine
South China:	
Paoan, Kwangtung: Paoan Pharmaceu- tical Works Canton: Kwangtung Chemical and Pharmaceutical Works.....	morphine, heroin
Central China:	
Hankow: Special Products Refinery, Agricultural Products Purchase Bu- reau.....	opium
Southwest China:	
Kunming, Yunnan: China Chemical Materials Company, Special Ma- terials Refinery (with four branches).....	morphine, ether
Tail, Yunnan: Yunnan Provincial Ma- terials Works under direct control of China Pharmaceutical Company.....	opium
Northwest China:	
Chengtzu, Szechwan: Szechwan Phar- maceutical Works, the Third Branch.....	morphine
Chungking Opium Laboratory.....	morphine
Kangting, Sikang: Sikang Pharmaceu- tical Works.....	
Chiang tze, Tibet: Tibet Refinery, the Second Branch.....	

APPENDIX IV

BRANDS OF NARCOTICS PRODUCED BY THE CHINESE COMMUNISTS

Type and brand	Grade
Opium:	
138.....	B
139.....	A
Ginseng.....	C
Shun-feng.....	C
Lao-pei-kou.....	C
Ta-chen.....	A
Heng-tiao.....	C
Kang-fu.....	A
Sung-pao.....	B
Hung-hsing (Red Star).....	A
Chin-feng (Golden Phoenix).....	A
Fan-chuan (Sail Boat).....	B

APPENDIX IV—Continued

BRANDS OF NARCOTICS PRODUCED BY THE CHINESE COMMUNISTS—Continued

Type and brand	Grade
Morphine:	
Tsai-feng (Variegated Phoenix).....	B
Yin-lung (Silver Dragon).....	B
Lung-tze (Dragon Son).....	A
Chin-ying (Gold-Silver).....	B
Hei-chi (Black Chicken).....	A
Lo-to (Camel).....	B
Huang-shang-huang (King of Kings).....	C
Hsung-chi (Cock).....	B
Hung-shih (Red Lion).....	A
Heroin:	
Pei-chi (North Pole).....	B
Hung-chin (Red Gold).....	A
Yin-ling (Silver Tripod).....	A
Shih-chiu (Lion-Ball).....	A
Hsiang-pin (Champion).....	A
Chin-yu (Gold Fish).....	B
Hsiang-nan.....	B

THE NEED FOR BETTER REGULATION OF "PRIVATE CLUBS" IN NEW YORK CITY

(Mr. KOCH asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the Record and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. KOCH. Mr. Speaker, I would like to bring to the attention of my colleagues a situation in my congressional district which illustrates how necessary it is, that in our zeal to protect the civil rights of the individual, we remember that the public also has civil rights which must be guarded.

On Manhattan's east side and in Greenwich Village there has been a recent proliferation of bars and so-called private-after-hours clubs which operate as centers for drug trafficking. The Tam-bourine bar on East 81st Street is an alleged example of this type of bar. But whether chartered as private clubs or not, these places are taking advantage of a laxity in our laws and are creating, with virtual impunity, not only a public nuisance but a public danger.

Constituents of mine living near these bars are rightfully angered and frightened. Their streets are crowded with people who are obviously "stoned," and assaults, stabbings, and shootings take place in and around some of these places.

These clubs are cancers spreading crime and infecting otherwise decent neighborhoods. The police have responded as best they can to all complaints but they cannot close these places down. They and other local authorities are forced to resort to the ineffective issuance of summonses for petty violations; but business is woefully good, and the owners simply remove violations, pay the fines and continue operations.

Because some of these places are involved in illegal drug dealings and probably linked to organized crime, I have asked the Federal Joint Task Force to investigate several of them. But clearly there needs to be a method of continual local law enforcement supervision. The State liquor authority has the legal power

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to close down any establishment where liquor is served if it is found to be a public nuisance, but has failed to exercise sufficient initiative to protect the public from the menace these bars have become.

The State liquor authority must do more than check occasionally to see if the gin is watered. It must actively and continually monitor the social impact that any bar has on the community, so that it can move quickly to revoke the bar's license if it is proven at a hearing to be a source of public disorder. If State legislation is needed to accelerate the administrative and court appeal procedures during which one of these bars might be able to stay open, then we must have that legislation. At the present it is only after long delay, after the situation becomes intolerable, that the SLA begins to act.

In the case of privately chartered clubs where no liquor is served—and many of those are not private at all but profit-making businesses—legislation placing them under the city's department of consumer affairs for licensing is needed, thus allowing the department's inspectors to enter the premises for periodic inspection.

Obviously the right of any individual to assemble in private with others having a common interest must not be abridged. But we must also recognize the right of the public to live in a decent safe community, and when the bars and so-called private clubs threaten that right, then there must be adequate controls to protect the public.

(Mr. KOCH asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the Record and to include extraneous matter.)

[Mr. KOCH's remarks will appear hereafter in the Extension of Remarks.]

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DISCLOSURE OF PERSONAL FINANCIAL ASSETS

(Mr. VAN DEERLIN asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the Record.)

Mr. VAN DEERLIN. Mr. Speaker, I have made it a policy, before each general election campaign, to submit for the Record a full public disclosure of my personal financial assets.

I intend this as no reflection on Members who do not choose to make such disclosure. The law requires only the financial statements which all of us file with the House Committee on Ethics.

However, those statements are limited in scope, and portions are sealed from public scrutiny except under exceptional circumstances. I continue to feel that the people of my district are entitled to know whether I, as my party's nominee for a 2-year term in Congress, am free of financial ties which might influence my actions as their representative.

Under California's community property law, Mrs. Van Deerlin and I jointly own a mortgaged residential property

erty of about 2½ acres in Poway, Calif. We acquired this in 1951, at a price of \$12,500. We have equity of \$28,500 in our present residence at 3930 Argyle Terrace, NW., Washington, D.C. We own one commercial and one residential lot with total value of about \$7,000 in Imperial County, Calif.; 2½ unimproved acres worth \$750 in Mojave County, Ariz., and 10 undeveloped acres, value undetermined, near Hilo, Hawaii.

We own no corporate stocks and no bonds of any nature. My salary as a Member of Congress constitutes virtually our entire gross income. For the year 1971 we paid \$5,838 Federal income tax and \$1,181 California State tax on an adjusted gross income of \$39,287.07.

My Internal Revenue Service forms and/or State tax forms are available for inspection by news media.

CHERNOFF TO THE RESCUE

(Mr. VAN DEERLIN asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the Record.)

Mr. VAN DEERLIN. Mr. Speaker, we have been hearing much this week about the troubles of the American Revolution Bicentennial Commission. In the wake of disclosures published by the Washington Post, a bill continuing the Commission's funding authorization was removed rather suddenly from the House calendar, with the implicit hope that new provisions can be inserted to pull this agency out of its tailspin.

As one who would like to see the commission succeed, in putting on a 200th birthday party which will reflect the values and aspirations of the widest possible cross section of our populace, I would like to offer one suggestion.

My proposal is prompted by a letter sent last January by Jack LeVant, then the Commission's executive director, to David G. Mahoney, its chairman.

In this letter, text of which is found on page S13681-S13682 of yesterday's Record, Mr. LeVant states that the Commission would succeed if it were a "one-man show," free of undue interference from outsiders and with a cohesive staff.

Mr. LeVant goes on to say that a Perfect example of one-man control is that of Osaka and our friend Howard Chernoff.

Now as it happens, Mr. Chernoff, a fellow resident of San Diego, is also an old friend of mine. He has rendered distinguished service under two administrations—first as a top aide to the USIA director in the Johnson administration and more recently, under President Nixon, as the ambassadorial-rank official in charge of the U.S. exhibit at the Osaka international trade fair.

As Mr. LeVant says of Mr. Chernoff's performance in the latter job:

He placed before the President on a "take it or leave it" basis what all would be involved in the way of money, help, authority, and endorsement. Osaka was an outstanding success.

I should point out that Mr. Chernoff also earned the praise of no less a judge of character than our distinguished colleague, the Honorable JOHN J. ROONEY of New York, whose Appropriations Subcommittee exercised jurisdiction over the

All of which leads to a rather obvious conclusion.

Why not follow through on Mr. LeVant's warm endorsement, by naming Mr. Chernoff as the top man in the American Revolution Bicentennial Commission?

I am convinced Howard would be just as efficient in handling the bicentennial bureaucracy as he was in shaking up the international trade paper shufflers and earlier, a bloated USIA staff.

(Mr. PEPPER asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the Record and to include extraneous matter.)

[Mr. PEPPER's remarks will appear hereafter in the Extensions of Remarks.]

(Mr. PEPPER asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the Record and to include extraneous matter.)

[Mr. PEPPER's remarks will appear hereafter in the Extensions of Remarks.]

(Mr. PATMAN asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the Record and to include extraneous matter.)

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[Mr. PATMAN's remarks will appear hereafter in the Extensions of Remarks.]

(Mr. VANIK asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the Record and to include extraneous matter.)

[Mr. VANIK's remarks will appear hereafter in the Extensions of Remarks.]

LEGISLATION TO CREATE AN ASIAN STUDIES INSTITUTE

(Mrs. MINK asked and was given permission to extend her remarks at this point in the Record and to include extraneous matter.)

Mrs. MINK. Mr. Speaker, on March 16, 1971, I introduced H.R. 6168 which amended the International Education Act of 1966 to provide for the establishment of an Institute of Asian Studies at the University of Hawaii. The bill is pending in the Select Education Subcommittee of the House Committee on Education and Labor. Hearings will be held August 24 in Hawaii.

I believe that an Asian Studies Institute is urgently needed to help fulfill

Heat Is on for Opium King

BANGKOK AP)—A mysterious Chinese who operates in the mountains of northern Burma, in a wild area called the Golden Triangle, is known as the opium king of Asia.

Narcotics agents describe this man, Lo Hsing Han, as the first link in the drug chain that ends with sales on U.S. street corners.

In recent weeks, from his sanctuary at Tachilek, a small Burmese town just over the border from Thailand, he has seen Thai and U.S. narcotics agents striking at the heart of the Asian drug traffic.

In June and July, agents seized 3,853 kilograms of

raw opium, 212 of morphine base, 353 of prepared smoking opium and seven of No. 4 pure heroin. A kilogram is 2.2 pounds.

In two days in June, the Thais seized opium and opiates which would make half a ton of heroin. It was their biggest haul ever. Judging the value of these hauls is difficult, agents say, because the prices rise sharply the farther down the pipeline the opium moves. However, if that amount of heroin were to get to the United States, it could be worth \$250 million in street sales.

The raids did not hurt Lo Hsing Han. He had already

sold the drugs to dealers who were caught before they could make their runs to Saigon, Bangkok and Hong Kong for further sales. But the message must have been clear: the heat is on and that may be bad for business.

There are no photographs of Lo, no physical description. Thai authorities do not even know his age, although they have heard he is a superb organizer and a charismatic leader.

He is thought to have been born in Yunnan, China's southern province, but that is uncertain.

Intelligence that trickles over the border, from peo-

ple who cross frequently to trade or smuggle goods into Tachilek, is sketchy.

But it is known that he operates in that northeast corner of Burma which borders China, Thailand and Laos. The whole area, including parts of Thailand and Laos, is a no man's land called the Golden Triangle because of the estimated 1,000 tons of opium produced there annually. Some 800 tons of opium come from Burma alone, much of it from territory which the opium king rules as a feudal warlord.

Intelligence reports say

See OPIUM, E6, Col. 3

OPIUM, From E1

Lo has organized a private army of at least 1,000 men—euphemistically called a self-defense force.

The Burmese government gave its tacit approval to his organization of this army, the most powerful in the area, because it wanted him to help fight Burmese Communist guerrillas. Instead, informants say, he has established an accommodation with the guerrillas, so his opium trading can be conducted undisturbed.

His army is composed of Dacoits, hill tribesmen, Shans, Yunnanese, Haws and deserters from the 93rd Kuomintang Division which was thrown out of China in the Communist takeover in 1949.

His troops have modern weapons, including American-made M16 rifles, grenade launchers and mortars originally supplied to the Lao army but sold into a black market in Thailand. Lo's army is regarded as the best equipped and most cohesive fighting force in the mountains. The Burmese army, confined to the main towns, will not tackle it.

Lo also deals in the lucrative

tive border trade, smuggling everything from truck engines to bolts of cloth into Burma to feed a black-market created by the Burmese government's nationalization program.

Intelligence reports say Lo buys opium from the hill farmers and transports it to his own refineries by pack horse and mule caravans. His troops provide the armed escort to prevent hijacking by rival groups. Some of these caravans may comprise 400 guards, 200 porters and 200 mules.

Refinery Complex

Drug-suppression officers in Thailand would like Lo's scalp, but see little chance of that. The Thais won't cross the border for fear of creating an incident with Burma. The Burmese government cannot act because its writ does not extend fully to the territory where Lo operates.

Officials say they plan to keep choking off big shipments when they cross the Thai border. This is difficult because of the hundreds of trails and rugged mountainous countryside.

"If he can't sell it because the dealers think they run too heavy a risk of getting picked up on the Thai side, we'll have done him a lot of damage," said one of-

Little Progress Reported in Drug Fight

By Tim O'Brien
Washington Post Staff Writer

A deluge of secret and unclassified government reports made public over the past week indicates that, despite intensified efforts to stem narcotics trafficking, little progress is being made.

On Thursday, a cabinet committee on international narcotics control reported that only a small fraction of the world's illicit heroin is being confiscated, "despite the rising pace of seizures."

Titled "World Opium Survey 1972," the extensive report estimated that from 990 to 1,210 metric tons of illicit opium products were produced last year world-wide. Only 21.6 tons were seized.

"The international heroin market almost certainly continues to have adequate supplies to meet the demand in consuming countries," the study said.

The report was compiled by the State Department, Central Intelligence Agency, the Customs Bureau, the Treasury Department and the Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs. It was prepared over a nine-month period.

Then, over the weekend, the secret summaries upon which the cabinet report was based were made public, suggesting that the problem is even worse than the official version said.

For example, the CIA and BNDD summaries report extensive involvement by government officials in several narcotics-producing nations, a charge that has been made frequently by such critics as Alfred McCoy. The administration, through its State Department narcotics chief Nelson Gross, has repeatedly rebutted McCoy's charges.

The secret intelligence summaries also note that Turkey's agreement to stop opium poppy production — a decision lauded by U.S. officials — does not guarantee that illicit opium production will stop. Turkey's estimated illegal opium output is 35 to 100 tons a year.

The summaries said that "extra-legal" methods for dealing with narcotics smuggling should not be rejected "out of hand." Such extra-legal techniques could include the hiring of thugs to destroy heroin refining factories, flooding the market with harmless opium substitutes to destroy the traffickers' credibility, or even defoliation.

Over half the illicit opium in the world is produced in the so-called Golden Triangle area of Southeast Asia — Thailand, Laos and Burma. Burma, alone, accounts for at least a third of the illegal opium grown annually.

But the secret summaries say that in Laos, "priorities relating to requirements of the Vietnam war may limit pressures that can be applied" to the Laotian government.

The same problem, but for different reasons, exists in Burma, the largest opium producer in the world. According to a little publicized report that the White House circulated among congressmen last month, "the Burmese government's policy of non-alignment and sensitivity to foreign influence is a limiting factor in its involvement with the U.S. or the United Nations in the narcotics field."

The CIA and narcotics bureau summaries say that "Burmese customs and military officials are reported in collusion with smugglers."

The White House report did not mention enforcement problems in Laos. Instead, it said "intelligence indicates that the flow of opium and heroin through Laos has been seriously curtailed."

The cabinet committee's unclassified report minimized the impact of the opium production in Southeast Asia, saying that "perhaps 600 of the 700 tons" produced in the Golden Triangle is consumed in Southeast Asia, "by the hills tribes themselves."

While the study said the United States remains the main consuming market for international heroin supplies, "use of the drug is on the increase in Western Europe," as well.

Reflecting in acid words the problem of interesting other nations in the drug fight, the report said efforts to develop international narcotics policing organizations have been hampered "largely because of widely varying national attitudes toward the drug problem."

These differences, it said, "are regularly and skillfully

exploited by the illicit international traffickers."

The cabinet study detailed a number of international smuggling routes. The "direct Europe-United States route is the oldest" French smuggling route and remains the most active." This pathway is attractive, the study said, partly because it avoids the need for a foreign middleman and partly because opium is more readily concealed in the large volume of trans-Atlantic commerce, involving only one customs inspection.

A second route starts in Europe, usually France, then moves into Latin America—Buenos Aires and Montevideo are frequent depots—and then through Panama or Mexico into Southwestern U.S.

The opium flowing through these conduits originates mainly in Turkey, and the cabinet report said that country "is the largest source of the raw material for the heroin sold on the American market." Turkish opium is preferred by heroin traffickers because the morphine content is one of the highest in the world, ranging from 9 to 14 per cent.

About 80 per cent of the heroin used by U.S. addicts originates in Turkish poppy fields.

In another study released Aug. 11, the General Accounting Office analyzed drug abuse by U.S. military personnel in Vietnam, Okinawa, the Philippines, Europe and the Continental United States.

Of Vietnam, it said: "Until the fourth quarter of calendar year 1970, drug abuse among military personnel in Vietnam was primarily limited to marijuana. At that time, the use of heroin began to rise and has now become the military's most serious drug problem in Vietnam . . . Drugs were relatively cheap; a .25 gram-vial of heroin 94 to 97 per cent pure could be purchased for \$2.50 to \$10 a vial. This compares to a stateside price of about \$20 for a similar quantity that is only 4 to 12 per cent pure heroin."

"Reliable estimates of the incidence of drug use among military personnel in Vietnam were not available; however, some unit commanders estimated that 30 per cent or more personnel used heroin."

Dubs

Spooking the First Amendment

The CIA Mounts an Operation on a Book

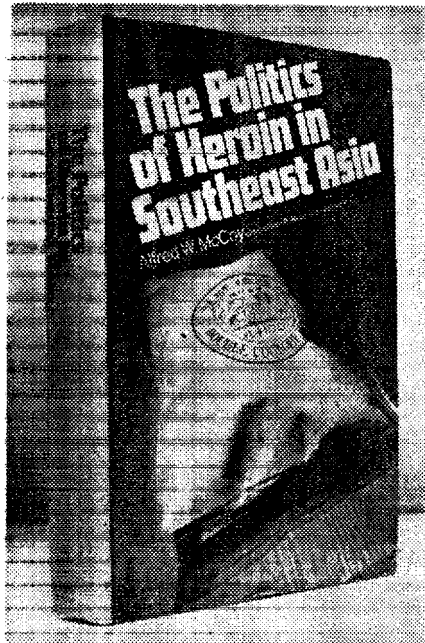
A FUNNY thing happened to author Alfred W. McCoy on the way to his publication date. He and his publisher, Harper & Row almost got spooked by the CIA in a gambit that does little credit to our secret overseas operatives. It seems that in his book, "The Politics of Heroin in Southeast Asia," Mr. McCoy argues that American diplomats and secret agents have been significantly involved in the narcotics traffic in the "golden triangle" of Laos, Thailand and Burma. The CIA, upon learning something of the content of the book, apparently decided that it had cause for the expression of some concern. As a result, the author alleges, the agency resorted to "extralegal measures" such as CIA visits to the publisher, telephone calls and letters in an attempt "to harass and intimidate me and my publisher."

I am not concerned with the accuracy of Mr. McCoy's text or his methods of scholarship. I do, however, wonder about the way in which the government expressed its interest in his work. Whether there were visits to the publisher or phone calls, as Mr. McCoy alleges, is not the point. It is clear that the general counsel of the CIA wrote and asked to see the book prior to publication. While he denied that the agency's interest affected in any way the publisher's right to publish, the general counsel went on to apply some heavy pressure, saying "it is our belief that no reputable publishing house would wish to publish such allegations without being assured that the supporting evidence was valid."

HARPER & ROW, for its part, told the agency that it desired to publish the book but also to "live up to the traditions and responsibilities of a great publishing house as we see them." Overriding the author's protests, the publisher decided to submit the book for an unusual pre-publication review by the CIA. A source at Harper & Row reports that the agency wrote the firm saying that it could "prove beyond doubt" that

By Roger Wilkins

McCoy's facts were wrong. After reviewing the book, the agency attempted, in an 11-page critique, to demonstrate that the author's evidence did not support his assertions. Apparently, after reviewing the CIA critique, Harper & Row decided the agency



had not proved its case. "They just didn't do it," the source reports. So, the book will see the light of day.

Unfortunately, this is neither the government's nor the CIA's first venture into the murky business of attempting to impose pre-publication restraints on the words and ideas the citizens of this country are to read and consider. The Justice Department's thrust against the Pentagon Papers is still fresh in memory. And the CIA has a rich

history in this business. In recent years, the agency has flitted from Random House to Putnam to courtrooms and to Harper & Row trying to influence what the rest of us do or don't read about the CIA.

But the agency cannot have it both ways. It cannot hide away in the woods when it pleases and then tell the mirrors of the world what to show when it becomes edgy. Its message to Harper & Row was especially pernicious. While disclaiming any intention to inhibit publication, the agency suggested more than once that no reputable or responsible publisher would want to publish a book without first validating the facts. And then the agency offered itself as chief validator. I am not sure whether the publisher needed to go as far as submitting the galley proofs of the book to the CIA for pre-publication review in order to ascertain the agency's views or whether, indeed, that decision was entirely wise. But to its credit, Harper & Row resisted the pressures and retained the ultimate publishing judgment.

THAT IS all to the good, for the CIA, in offering its services as ultimate validator of the author's source material, was dangling a lure that leads down the path to acquiescence in censorship. If Clifford Irving's caper taught us anything, it was that the publisher has ultimate responsibility for checking the validity of the material he proposes to publish. It is clear that the publisher, upon learning that serious questions have been raised about the reliability of material it has on hand, should at least talk the questions over with any responsible doubter.

But finally, the responsibility rests with the publisher, it cannot and should not be shifted to any other party, particularly not to a secret agency of the government. Any other course would lead to the erosion of a publisher's most precious right, the first amendment right of free speech, which is his only guarantee of his ability to promote the free flow of information and ideas throughout society, and our only guarantee as well.

Books of The Times

Bonanza in 'Golden Triangle'

By THOMAS LASK

THE POLITICS OF HEROIN IN SOUTHEAST ASIA. By Alfred W. McCoy with Cathleen B. Reed and Leonard P. Adams 2d. 464 pages. Harper & Row. \$10.95.

Although "The Politics of Heroin in Southeast Asia" is packed solid with information, some of it of considerable complexity, its charges (for that is what its conclusions are) are simple enough to be spelled out in a school primer. Seventy per cent of the world's supply of heroin, the book says, has its origin in Southeast Asia in an area of northeast Burma, north Laos and north Thailand known as the "Golden Triangle." It is transported in the planes, vehicles and other conveyances supplied by the United States. The profit from the trade has been going into the pockets of some of our best friends in Southeast Asia. The charge concludes with the statement that the traffic is being carried on with the indifference if not the closed-eye complacency of some American officials and there is no likelihood of its being shut down in the foreseeable future.

These conclusions have been drawn by a young Ph.D. scholar from Yale who has studied the subject for 18 months and who has already been embroiled with the Central Intelligence Agency over them. Before publication, his book was attacked by the Central Intelligence Agency for what it said were unjust accusations that the agency knew of but failed to stem the heroin traffic of United States allies in Southeast Asia. After reading the galleys, which the publisher, Harper & Row, made available, and sending off a critique to Harper's, the C.I.A. took no further action.

Shuns the Headline Approach

It is difficult for anyone not close to the field to assess the accuracy of Mr. McCoy's material. But it must be said that his book is a serious, sober, headline-shunning study with 63 pages of supporting notes, referring to a large number of personal interviews, newspaper accounts, previously published books, Congressional committee hearings, Government reports and United Nations documents. It is so filled with information that it will take a great deal more than mere dislike of its contents to demolish it.

Perhaps the greatest guarantee of its accuracy is a Cabinet-level report prepared by officials of the Central Intelligence Agency, the State Department and the Defense Department that confirms the main findings of the McCoy book. The report, dated Feb. 21, 1972, said that "there is no prospect" of stemming the smuggling of drugs by air and sea in Southeast Asia and cited as one reason the fact that "the governments in the region are unable or in some cases unwilling" to make a truly effective effort to curb the traffic.

That drug smuggling is not a problem remote from us can be seen from the fact that a shipment of the Double U-O Globe brand, a bulk heroin manufactured in the Golden Triangle, was seized in an amount estimated by the police to be worth \$3.5-million in the Lexington Hotel in this city last year. In addition, Army medical officers have noted a rise in the number of

heroin users among G.I.'s. "By mid 1971 the author writes, "Army medical officers were estimating that about 10 to 15 per cent . . . of the lower ranking enlisted men serving in Vietnam were heroin users."

The politics of heroin—and in this book the emphasis is on the politics—is an artful one. Mr. McCoy cites the case of Ngo Dinh Nhu, brother of President Ngo Dinh Diem of South Vietnam, later murdered by his colleagues. During his brother's regime Nhu was head of the secret police and had set up a close apparatus of spies, informers and agents. He was so successful in harassing the National Liberation Front, the political arm of the Vietcong, that after he and Diem were killed, Nguyen Huu Tho, chairman of the N.L.F., told an Australian journalist that Nhu's demise was "a gift from heaven."

Closed and Open Opium Dens

The point the author makes, though, is that to keep the members of this network loyal took a great deal of money and that the only way Nhu could get it was from the drug trade. Diem had entered on his presidency determined to close down the opium shops, the author says, but the profit from the drug trade was so great that his brother restored it and used the money to harass the Communists.

Gen. Tuan Shi-wen, commander of the Chinese Nationalist Fifth Army, based in the Golden Triangle, put the matter succinctly. He is quoted in the book as having said, "We have to continue to fight the evil of Communism, and to fight you must have an army, and an army must have guns, and to buy guns you must have money. In these mountains the only money is opium."

For the most part, Mr. McCoy demonstrates, an illicit drug traffic is carried on for the personal benefit and dollar profit of individuals, including some of the highest ranking officials with whom we do business in Southeast Asia. The picture of corruption that he draws, of cruel and naked jockeying for power, of bloodletting and cynical maneuvering with underworld peddlers, is so strongly documented that it might make even the staunchest defender of the war in Southeast Asia wonder if it is worth it.

The attitude of too many American officials, he says, is one of "embarrassment and apathy." They argue that their job is to fight the North Vietnamese and kill Communists and nothing else concerns them. This moral neutrality is so widespread, the author declares, that one C.I.A. agent even showed the natives how they could improve the yield of the poppy crop.

The underworld in Southeast Asia, the book makes clear, as in the Middle East, in Western Europe, in America, has always been an essential part of the trade. Its members have the advantage of being free of ideology. They worked with Socialists in Marseilles, with the Gestapo under Vichy, with the American liberating forces in Italy. And they work with any side in Southeast Asia as long as somewhere on their own activities of drug peddling, gold smuggling and prostitution. It is just a matter of Realpolitik on both sides.